

370.5  
AMT

331.805  
TEAA

REMOTE STORAGE  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

MAR 9 1921

# *The* AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of  
the American  
Federation  
of Teachers

JANUARY, 1921

The Tenure Law



Labor and the Teachers



What the Open Shop  
Means



Impressions of the Fifth  
Convention



## Mr Jones and The American Teacher

### Mr Jones Tells How He Picks Good Teachers

In Talk to Staff Superintendent Says Personal Traits  
Are All-Important

What sort of face has she?  
Does she look you in the eye when  
she talks?

Are her shoes  
turned at the heel?  
Is her dress spotted?  
Are her fingernails clean?

Does she say  
"Yeah" or "Yes"?

Is she attractive  
and wholesome?

During the course  
of a school year  
hundreds of candi-  
dates for teaching  
positions come to  
the superintendent  
and to the assistant  
superintendents or  
other executives.

They are em-  
ployed or turned  
down largely on  
the basis of the personal impression they  
make.

On the same basis dozens of persons al-  
ready in the system are promoted or are  
not promoted.

#### *Personal Equation Counts*

It's the personal equation that counts?

After all, the biggest job of the superin-  
tendent of schools and of his staff is in the  
selection of members of the educational  
force. If the character of teaching in the  
Cleveland schools is poor it is the superin-  
tendent who is held accountable.—*From  
School Topics, Cleveland, Ohio.*

### The American Teacher Tells How It Would Pick a Superintendent

In a Heart-to-Heart Talk the Editor Says That Pro-  
fessional Traits of Candidates Are All-Important

What sort of mind has he?  
Does he face the issue when he talks?

Does his conver-  
sation turn on what  
he himself has  
done? Is his rec-  
ord spotted?

Is his thinking  
clear?

Does he say  
"Go!" or "Come!"

Is he intelligent  
and inspiring?

During the course  
of a year many are  
candidates for the  
position of super-  
intendent. For the  
most part, they ap-  
pear before politi-  
cians, and there  
they are employed  
or turned down  
largely on the basis

of the personal impression they make.  
Sometimes the politicians are good judges;  
sometimes they are not.

#### *Professional Equation Counts*

But it is the professional equation that  
counts!

After all, the test of a superintendent is  
his success in leading and developing the  
efforts of the teachers. If they were per-  
mitted to select him, their own work would  
stand for more before the public. If the  
work of the school is poor, the persons who  
do the work, the teachers, should be held  
accountable.

## CONTENTS

EDITORIALS . . . . .	3
LABOR AND THE TEACHERS . . . . .	5
WHAT THE OPEN SHOP MEANS . . . . .	7
IMPRESSIONS OF THE FIFTH CON- VENTION . . . . .	9
RESOLUTIONS, A F TO T . . . . .	13
THE EASTERN CONFERENCE . . . . .	20
SUPERINTENDENTS DENOUNCE UNIONS . . . . .	21
UNCLE SAM'S MONEY PIE . . . . .	24



# The American Teacher

Entered as second-class matter, Feb. 21, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Published at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, monthly, except July and August. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized September 27, 1919.

Volume X, No. 1

JANUARY, 1921

One Dollar a Year

## THE TENURE LAW

The teachers of Oregon are coming in for some bitter experience on account of those who control the education system of that state. The education law of 1917 grants to teachers of Oregon after two successful annual terms permanency of tenure. It also provides that before a teacher can be dismissed she may request a hearing before a commission regularly appointed for such purpose by the circuit court of the county in which the teacher resides. The teacher may have a public or private trial as she prefers, and may have counsel. She also has the right to have witnesses summoned by the chairman of the commission.

A bill which has been introduced at the present session of the Legislature of Oregon abolishes the "permanent list," and establishes the principle of employment "on indefinite contract." It abolishes also the commission, and makes the Board of Education responsible in all cases of the control of teachers.

Section 7 of the proposed law begins as follows: "In case of gross dereliction of duty or misconduct on the part of a teacher so employed, the board may summarily suspend such teacher. In case of such suspension, it shall cause notice to be served upon the teacher, and unless the teacher shall demand a written statement of the grounds of such suspension within three days after service of such notice the suspension shall operate as final dismissal." Thus, if the mail should miscarry, or a teacher should be ill when the notice of suspension arrives, she may be dismissed with a trial or without a chance to defend herself.

The proposed law was submitted to one professional expert in New York, and his remark was that it looked as if someone was preparing to "himble-rig" the teachers. Another expert said he had not noticed this section, and yet this one

had sent to the educational authorities in Portland, Oregon, his approval of the proposed amendment. If this expert represents a class, it may be well for class teachers to be observing of whom they trust.

## THE BOARD OF EDITORS

The Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers held at St. Paul December 28-31, 1920, adopted the Report of the Committee on the Official Organ, and decided to increase the number of members of the editorial staff, and to centralize the responsibility more definitely than was possible with the staff of associate editors who have assisted the editor for the past year. This centralization of authority is made possible by the organization of a Board of Editors selected from locals in and near New York, situated so that meetings of the entire board will be possible. The convention established an editorial board of seven, three to be chosen by Local 5, New York, one each by Locals, 24, New York, 71, New York, 87, Jersey City, N. J., and 92, Paterson, N. J. The former editor was elected Chairman of the Board of Editors. The representation of the locals is not yet complete. For that reason, the responsibility for the current issue rests on the former editor.

A new feature of the periodical will be a definitely organized News Department. This department will be under the direction of members selected by Locals 2 and 3 of Chicago. Their nearness to the national office makes it possible to obtain all the news from the locals, and to organize it for publicity. In order to make this enterprise effective, the locals all over the country are urged to be more industrious than ever in sending information about their work and their needs to Secretary Stecker.

The Convention decided also to agree to a reduction in size of the American Teacher, in view



of the heavy cost of production. When the stock of paper contracted for is exhausted, the American Teacher will become a sixteen-page periodical. This change will take place in April.

### THE REGIONAL CONFERENCES

Commissioner of Education, P P Claxton, is doing wonderful service in conducting regional conferences on education thruout the country. Under Dr Claxton's leadership the Bureau of Education has done more than has ever been done before to investigate the conditions of the schools especially with reference to the problems of maintaining an adequate supply of teachers for the schools. Without the studies of experts in the Bureau we never should have known that 145,000 teachers left their positions within a single year. Nor would we have realized that over half the teachers in the public schools of the country, that is, 350,000, are below normal in training. And normal itself is shockingly low. The strong campaign for salary increases as a national movement we should credit to Dr Claxton's productive energy.

The plan of the regional conference is to bring the experts in education, the officers in education representing the public and the public itself together on a high plane of service to the community. So far, none of the experts seem to be class room teachers, but we may let that pass. Perhaps their expertness has not been convincing.

The regional conference held in New York in the present month was attended by representatives from the states of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The programs of the sessions covered the topics of rural education, the training of teachers, continuation schools, the problem of educational control, taxation for revenue, and educational legislation. However, thruout the sessions there ran the *motif* of insistence on more money for education. Time after time Dr Claxton himself recurred to it. His favorite words were, "The Poverty of the country pays heavily for education; Wealth scarcely at all." No one resented this; in fact the sentiment was always applauded. The effect of the recurrence of this strain was especially noticeable on the delegates

from New York City itself. They had been much worried by the demand for economy. But their spirits were lifted by the conference, and they responded by joining in with the general sentiment.

There is only one fly in the ointment, but it is conspicuous and cannot be overlooked. The conference talked a great deal about the absolute necessity for more money, and like Dr Claxton, they all knew who was keeping it. But even Prof. E R A Seligman, the well known economist of Columbia University, failed in his brilliant analysis of the sources of money for education to tell how we are to get the money from those who hold it. His main conclusion was that state income taxes will provide the funds. But we have the state income tax system, and the money is not forthcoming. Why not? To tell would be to accuse, and to accuse would be to attack the present economic system of wealth control and wealth concealment. Apparently no one was ready for that, and so, education must starve a little longer against the time the courage of its votaries rises.

## The American Teacher

Democracy in Education      Education for Democracy  
Published monthly, except July and August, by  
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS  
at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City

### Board of Editors

HENRY R LINVILLE, *Chairman*

From Local 5, New York

ALICE M HERRING

ABRAHAM KOVAR

From Local 24, New York

.....  
From Local 71, New York

.....  
From Local 87, Jersey City, N J

.....  
From Local 92, Paterson, N J

THOMAS P KYLE

At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes in address.

Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamps or check (New York exchange).

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR FOR THE YEAR.  
FOREIGN, \$1.10



# Labor and the Teachers\*

WILLIAM MAHONEY

*President, The St Paul Trades and Labor Assembly*

I esteem it a great honor and privilege to speak in behalf of the organized labor movement of St Paul, in extending to the delegates to the American Federation of Teachers Convention, a most cordial welcome to our city, and to convey to you our warmest felicitations for a successful gathering.

Your meeting in this city is a propitious event. St Paul is fortunate in having a large and an aggressive body of her public school teachers organized into locals of the Federation, which is affiliated with the local labor movement. The advantages of this relationship have become fully manifest to all concerned. The benefits to the teachers, to the labor movement and to the schools from the organizing of our teacher element have caused us to look upon your body with high esteem.

The organization of teachers into a trade union, and their affiliation with other labor unions must seem shocking to those who have the conventional idea of the labor movement. It must appear to such as the abdication by the teachers of that exalted station that they theoretically occupy.

Organized labor is engaged in a higher mission; it has higher aspirations than merely to struggle for a little more compensation and for improved working conditions for its own members. If it had no higher ideals and purposes than that, if that were its limitation, I for one would be disposed to abandon it as narrow and selfish; and would not be surprised at the attitude of hostility shown at the teachers' organizing and affiliating with labor unions. It would surely savor of a conspiracy inimical to the public welfare.

I am not decrying that aspect of the labor movement which seeks to better the material condition of its own members, for this part of the work is essential; but I do not think the prime

mission of organized labor is fulfilled when this is attained. Other speakers have touched on the immediate and personal economic aspects of labor unions, and have shown you why, as a matter of self-interest, you should organize for better compensation and larger freedom. I am going to discuss another, and what I deem a vastly greater function, to which your organization must dedicate itself.

Organized labor has a great and vital mission. It aims to lead in the solution of the great problems of industry and society; and in this tremendous task, it needs the support and sympathy of every element interested in, and striving for, this paramount purpose. No other class in society has the economic interest and the social obligation that labor has to advance and to emancipate the mass of mankind from poverty and dependency.

The beneficiaries of the existing order do not want any change that might imperil their privilege. So they struggle to prevent progress lest it weaken their reign of exploitation. They care nothing for the ignorance, the poverty, and the degradation of the common people, only insofar as it may menace their security.

Out of this sordid attitude of the rich has developed an anti-social and reactionary attitude that blocks the progress of civilization, and throws on labor's shoulder the burden of carrying forward the banner of a better day.

This vast responsibility must be assumed by organized labor as an imperative duty if democracy in government and industry is to be fully realized. But labor is ill-equipped for the grave task. It is true it has numbers, but it lacks training and intellectual development. Before it can properly function as the vanguard of progress it requires discipline and mental training.

We are conscious of our shortcomings as well as we are of our urgent duty, and we are striving to equip ourselves for the pressing obligations that confront us. In seeking assistance in this

\* Address of Welcome at the Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, St. Paul, Minn., December 28, 1920.



crisis, we hail with keen appreciation the advent of the teachers in the ranks of organized labor.

You will see that our eager welcome is not wholly unselfish, for we look upon the teachers as a great saving element that will make the historic mission of the labor movement an assured success. We expect great things of the teachers, and we expect to be more than compensated for whatever may be done in the way of rendering immediate material assistance to them.

And I might ask, who better than the teachers are qualified intellectually to train, to guide, and to lead in the cause of civilization? We feel that you will, and can perform this vital work when you have been in some measure freed from the stress of economic distraction and academic oppression. Organized labor will pledge its fullest power to help in making you free, in return for which service the teachers must disseminate the truth and take a prime part in the enlightenment and emancipation of the toiling masses.

It may thus be seen that a two-fold and reciprocal advantage accrues to the labor movement and to the teachers: better compensation and larger freedom for the teachers, and increased efficiency to organized labor to achieve its larger mission, the advancement of civilization and the improvement of the general welfare.

It has often been said of teachers that their contact with the practical world and an intimate first-hand knowledge with its problems that the labor movement cannot be other than of great educational advantage to them. This is true, and is one of the reasons that their organization and affiliation with labor will qualify them to lead in the march to full freedom of the race.

This is not a matter of theory or idle speculation. It is a practical fact. While the immediate and practical purpose of a labor organization is to take care of the economic interests of its members, its larger and more vital function is to educate and inspire the great mass of the common people to strive for a general improvement that will end the brutal struggle for existence.

The working people must solve this problem. It will not be disposed of by the beneficiaries of the existing order. They are interested in

perpetuating it. The solution will come only by a broad understanding of the responsibility and opportunity of the working class.

This great duty rests for its successful accomplishment largely upon the teacher element in the labor movement. It is a great obligation as well as an honor. Their position in the present crisis calls for the highest type of public service. It involves the directing and advancing of the masses along practical and progressive lines in a way that safety and success will be attained in the shortest possible time. It will mean a departure from the function they have hitherto performed. They have been engaged in the defense of things as they are, because the politician and the plutocrat have been in control of education. The new independence will free the teachers from this blighting influence and afford them the opportunity to follow truth.

Here in St Paul we have made a modest beginning along the lines suggested, and we hope to bring our ideals to full fruition within a short time. Our local teachers' federations have been of great benefit to the St Paul labor movement and have by their work proved our hopes possible. It is my earnest appeal to organized labor all over the nation to exert the utmost endeavor to organize the teachers as the most important step towards emancipation.

#### TEACHER SHORTAGE STILL

The teacher shortage remains a menace to the public schools according to preliminary reports made public to-day by the National Education Association. Replies to questionnaires sent out by the Association have come from all sections of the United States. These reports show that in places where teachers' salaries have been increased one hundred per cent. or more the situation is nearly always satisfactory. But such places are comparatively few, and in localities where salaries have been increased fifty per cent. or less the teacher shortage is commonly greater than a year ago. Rural communities are hardest hit. Signed reports from superintendents of many counties indicate that a third of their rural schools cannot open for want of teachers. Tens of thousands of schools will be in charge of teachers who have had no professional preparation and whose academic training barely exceeds that of the children they teach.

Relief from this serious situation, which imperils the stability of American rural life, will be sought from the next session of Congress. Renewed efforts will be made to obtain the passage of the Smith-Towner Bill, which creates a department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet and provides federal aid of \$100,000,000 for education. —(From N E A Press Service.)



# What the Open Shop Means

JOHN A FITCH

*New York School of Social Work  
Member of Local 71, A F of T*

Judge Gary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, made a little speech at the annual meeting of the stockholders last spring on the subject of unionism. According to the *New York Times* of April 20, 1920, he stated that most of the employees of the corporation do not belong to unions, and that the reason is "because they know by long experience it is to their advantage to be free from dictation by outsiders." Judge Gary disapproved very strongly of this dictation by outsiders. He disapproved also of the "one big union" idea on the ground that the welfare of the country will not be promoted "by the control of industry under the arbitrary direction of an organized minority."

That was last spring. The other day, testimony was presented before the Lockwood Committee, which is investigating the building industry in New York, showing that the United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Company, the two largest manufacturers of structural steel in the country, were refusing to sell steel to New York contractors unless they would agree not to employ union labor in the erection of the steel. It appeared also from the testimony that the National Fabricators' Association, controlling 60 per cent of the steel fabricated in the country, adopted a resolution a year ago recommending that members "adjust their business so that the steel fabricated by them is erected by open shop; that the Executive Committee be instructed to use all influences within its power with mills, fabricators, manufacturers, and business associations to bring about that policy." It was stated that the members of the Fabricators' Association, together with the United States Steel Corporation, which is not a member, control 95 per cent of the fabricated steel of the country.

The Steel Corporation, however, was not to be left out of this movement to de-unionize the building industry. The National Erectors' Association, which has been fighting the Structural

Iron Workers' Union since 1906, and which has been carrying on an active campaign for several years in opposition to all forms of unionism, includes in its membership the American Bridge Company, a steel corporation subsidiary. Minutes of a meeting of the National Erectors' Association held in August, 1919, were introduced in evidence. An excerpt from these minutes reads: "Mr Drew reported having seen Judge Gary, Mr Grace, and Mr Farrell, who stated their positive intention to prevent the unionization of shops." Mr Drew, it should be understood, is counsel to the National Erectors' Association, Mr Grace is president of the Bethlehem Steel Company, and Mr Farrell is president of the United States Steel Corporation.

Testimony concerning the interest of the steel companies in destroying the unions in the building trades was given by Mr Louis Horowitz, President of the Thompson-Starrett Company, and Mr Paul Starrett, President of the Fuller Construction Company, two of the largest construction firms in the country. These men told the Committee that they cannot purchase structural steel to erect in buildings for the construction of which they have taken the contract, because they employ union labor. Mr Starrett testified that he had gone to Mr Schwab and Mr Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Company and pleaded with them to furnish him steel. He quoted President Grace as saying to him, "Don't you imagine for a minute that we are going to let you fellows build up an organization of union men who can refuse to erect our steel and force union conditions in our shops." After the inauguration of the policy of refusing to furnish structural material to contractors employing union labor, these two witnesses stated that they had been obliged to sublet steel erection to other firms employing non-union men.

Mr Horowitz testified that the most competent workers in New York belong to the unions and that the cost of erecting steel is greatly increased



as a result of the necessity imposed by the steel companies of employing non-union men. In the case of one building erected by his firm, Mr Horowitz said that the increased cost resulting from the non-union policy was somewhere between \$250,000 and \$500,000 in a building, the total cost of which was \$5,000,000.

President Grace, of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was called to the stand and admitted that it is the policy of his company both in New York and in Philadelphia to "protect" the open shop. Mr Grace testified that in those two cities the policy of refusing to sell to contractors employing union labor has been followed since September, 1919, when the attempt was made to organize the steel mills. Later, Joshua A Hatfield, Vice President of the American Bridge Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, admitted that so far as New York is concerned, his company will furnish steel only to members of the Erectors' Association, who erect their steel under non-union conditions.

All of this naturally induces some reflections as to the character of the so-called "open shop" movement. In appearance, this movement is eminently fair. It is said to be a shop where anyone may work regardless of his membership or non-membership in a union. It is important, however, to note that there are at least two sorts of arrangements that are defined as the open shop. One is where anyone is employed whether he belongs to the union or not. What this implies was stated very clearly by Robert F Brooks, a New York contractor, who maintains what he calls an "open shop." He defined this as "a shop in which there are no agreements between the men and the employer." It is evident that this is actually a closed shop, for while it may be open to the union man, it is open to him only when deprived of his bargaining strength. It is closed to the union. Under such an arrangement, membership in the union is rendered of no effect. On cross-examination, Mr Brooks admitted that his policy put the union man on the same level with the non-union man. For an employer to say that he does not practice discrimination when he maintains such a shop as this is like saying that he will employ Republicans

if they do not vote, or Presbyterians if they do not pray.

It developed in the testimony before the Lockwood Committee that there is another kind of "open shop" which bars not only the union, but union man as well. Former employees of the American Bridge Company testified that they had been discharged in pursuance of the "open shop" policy of that company, their discharge having taken place immediately after the discovery of their membership in the Structural Iron Workers' Union. A detective who occupies an office adjoining that of Walter Drew, counsel to the National Erectors' Association, testified that he has operatives working in the steel mills in order to discover and report on union activities. A "field superintendent" of the National Erectors' Association testified that none but non-union foremen were hired by members of the association, that union men would not apply for work under these men, or if they did, would not be hired. This man testified also that reports on the activity of men working on the different jobs were made to him by other representatives of the association, and that these reports covered the question of "agitation" and attitude toward the union.

Thruout the testimony it was evident that the kind of open shop that the steel corporations are attempting to enforce in the building trades of New York and Philadelphia is one where union men cannot get a job, and the way in which this kind of "open" shop is to be maintained is thru organization of the industry and the exercise of coercion, as testified above. Mr Grace testified that he would follow this policy whether contractors could get steel anywhere else or not, and whether it would require a complete cessation of building operations in the great cities or not. This policy he would follow because he does not think it is a good thing for the workmen to be "banded together in a single organization and recognized as a union."

This is an attitude which makes doubly interesting Judge Gary's statement of last spring in condemnation of one big union and minority control. He is opposed to these things and to "dictation by outsiders" as well. Certainly.



# Impressions of the Fifth Convention

By Delegates

MABEL A COLTER

*Local 28, St Paul, Minn*

What most impressed me in the convention? Without a moment's hesitation I answer, "The harmony that prevailed thruout its sessions." From the moment the gavel fell until Mr Stillman announced that the fifth annual convention had come to an end, the atmosphere was pervaded with a spirit of friendship such as I have never before seen in a gathering of any kind. While, of course, members differed widely on many points, never once **was** an invidious cut made.

So thoroly were the delegates dedicated to the cause of education as a whole, so unselfish were they in their attitude toward all the problems of the schools, that it was not possible to tell, in any case, unless it came out by accident, whether a given speaker taught in kindergarten or in college. There were no lines of cleavage between teachers of different groups, and none between those coming from different sections of the country. North, South, East, and West met in the Middle West on common ground.

In the words of Dryden it was true of the convention, "From harmony to harmony thru all the compass of the notes it ran . . . . ."

E J HARRELL

*Local 43, St Paul, Minn*

As this was the first real democratic educational convention I had ever attended, it was certainly a revelation to me. At first I was keenly disappointed in the small number of delegates present. However, as the meeting progressed, I realized that it was not the number of delegates, but the consecration to a cause that made it a great gathering. One of the things that impressed me most was the thoroness with which the main body thrashed out the details. In my mind this was a strong point. The convention revealed concretely to me that the personnel of the class room could furnish educational leaders fully as capable as men with executive and administrative offices. It also impressed upon me the fact that these leaders were not fanatics, but

successful teachers with a vision and with progressive ideas to bring this vision to pass. The devotion of those present to the cause was well illustrated by the manner in which they responded to the publicity campaign. My one regret was that the great mass of teachers were not more fully represented, and that the inspiration could not be carried back directly to all the locals. It makes no difference how devoted the officers and the field secretaries may be, they cannot give the inspiration to the teachers so well as one of their own group could after having attended a convention like the one at St Paul.

CARLOTTA PITTMAN

*Local 52, Memphis, Tenn*

The chill of the below zero weather into which we plunged on our arrival in St Paul was dispelled by the friendly warmth of the welcome we received from our fellow delegates. And this subtle atmosphere of cordiality, of good will, of mutual understanding pervaded the 1920 convention of the American Federation of Teachers thruout.

Among my many vivid impressions of the personnel of the convention are the reserve force of the president; "the torrential eloquence" of one delegate, convincing by the overwhelming flood of his argument; the "one simple word" of another which could tactfully turn the tide of opinion by its direct appeal; and the happy faculty of the delegate from California of reaching at once the minds and the hearts of her hearers.

A great volume of business was transacted in three short days. In spite of strong opposition the A F of T has already done much toward democratizing education, toward improving teaching conditions and teachers' salaries, and incidentally toward inspiring teachers with a courage which we were woefully lacking. What will be done, with the solid support of the locals under the wise and fearless leadership of those who have accomplished so much, may surpass our highest hopes.



JENNIE A WILCOX

*Local 3, Chicago, Ill*

A surface play of wit; a spirit of give and take; a willingness to get another's point of view; high idealism combined with the most practical and up-to-date methods of setting those ideals to work; above all, a deep undercurrent of seriousness, and an almost obstinate determination to carry out the principles for which the A F of T stands; all these characterized the St Paul convention.

When we reflect that the resolution to stand for equal pay for equal training and experience for all teachers from the kindergarten to the university was carried without a dissenting vote, we must admit that our convention took the greatest and most advanced step ever taken by any educational body in the United States; if not in the entire world.

The union teachers of Washington, D C, were the first to put forth this program, but other locals thruout the country have been quick to follow their lead.

The demand that, in the future, three-fifths of those applying for a charter from the A F of T shall have at least two years of training beyond the high school, is an attempt to raise the standard of equipment for teachers never before advocated by any aggregation of educators, and sounds a challenge to educational organizations thruout the country that cannot be ignored.

Are not these two steps sufficient proof that the A F of T is determined that the United States shall not much longer remain under the stigma of having forty per cent or more of its teachers practically untrained?

ALICE LORRAINE DALY

*Local 138, Madison, S D*

During the closing days of December the Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers was held in St Paul. North, South, East and West sent their representatives to that meeting in the interest of better education. It was an inspiring convention. One felt immediately the air of freedom. The atmosphere was one of freedom; and every delegate was encouraged to contribute his viewpoint, and was heard

with the respectful attention and exquisite courtesy that true democrats accord to all mankind. At this convention ideas of vital importance to education were discussed. The people there had the power to see "big things big and small things small," which is the truest test of education. Then, too, the spirit of progress prevailed—the welcoming attitude toward new and progressive thought. Nobody at this convention wanted to throw a hateful light on liberalism and the pursuit of freedom.

It was the first convention of teachers that I have ever attended the procedure of which was not the result of manipulations of book trust agents who remained behind the scenes. I felt that here teachers had met of their own volition in an organization of their own framing to discuss their own problems in their own way. It was an indescribable relief from the stereotyped, so-called educational convention. It renewed my hope. It gave me courage, strength and faith. I felt after the deliberations were closed that the spirit of liberty, tolerance, progress and justice is still vital in our educational life of today, and that I had found it in concentrated form at the convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

MARY A O'CONNOR

*Local 182, Buffalo, N Y*

Every real teacher who feels an intense interest in the cause of education experiences a deep regret that our present-day educational system fails to give children a reasonable thoroughness in attainment for time spent in our public schools.

Educators write fluently and lecture profoundly on progress in education, yet each year leaves the all-important problem of how to make the desired progress still unsolved.

The teachers who enjoyed the privilege of attending the convention of the American Federation of Teachers at its session in St Paul during the Christmas holidays were filled with the hope that a solution of this long discussed question is now in sight.

The Federation, composed of competent and successful teachers, approached the study of this matter from the advantageous angle of experi-



enced students who have studied long and deeply while in direct contact with the living ever present subject—the child.

It must be conceded, even by the most skeptical, that the teacher who spends several hours daily for ten or fifteen years in the class room with children is better prepared to solve professional problems than is the school board member, appointed for his social standing, or because of his enjoying a sufficient income to enable him to devote his time to the game of school administration.

This Federation of teachers seeks to secure efficiency in our schools by direct co-operation with parents and relatives of the children. It seeks to work hand in hand with them in a big, broad, human way, to arrive at a clear understanding of their interests and their purposes, to secure their help and to give help in exchange, living up to the American interpretation of what constitutes Democracy.

It seeks also to enable teachers to educate children in citizenship by securing to teachers citizens' rights, thru tenure of position after a satisfactory probationary period, with removal only for cause and after a hearing before a board composed in part of representatives chosen by the teaching body.

By so recognizing the profession of teaching the work will attract men and women of broad vision and intellectual attainment. The type required to train our boys and girls to that standard of manhood and womanhood under which we can safely trust the future of our great republic.

JOSEPHINE COLBY  
*Field Secretary, A F of T*

I had thought last year's convention admirable in every detail of arrangement; but it might as well have been anywhere else as in Chicago. We shall think of the Fourth Annual Convention, and then recall the fact that it was held in Chicago; this last convention we shall always think of as the St Paul Convention. The substantiality of conviction imparted by the St Paul group, its evident high evaluation by the community, the generous hospitality, the perfection of detail of the arrangements for comfort and effective

working conditions, all had their effect, conscious as well as subconscious, in inspiring a fine quality of work.

Work proceeded with greater unanimity than last year. There was a sense of the gravity of the issues entrusted to us to carry on, which gave a tone almost religious to the later sessions.

The convention was different in personnel. I missed many delegates with whom I had looked forward to renewing acquaintance. Some of them I had known would not be there—the friends from Missouri, for example. Some I had confidently expected to see this year, Miss Stutz and others from Washington, D C; Mr Lawson, too; Miss Aurianne of New Orleans, Miss Little of Memphis, the New Jersey delegates, Mr. Wells of Peoria, Henrietta Rodman and Joseph Jablonower of New York—and other vivid personalities who have become identified with our movement. Much as I regretted the absence of these delegates I was glad to see evidence of that democratic spirit which maintains the fairness of rotation in privilege. A principle so fundamental and so final as the proposition of DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION: EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY is common ground on which we found the group of delegates, new recruits and veterans, standing shoulder to shoulder.

There are many who approve the organization and the aim of the A F of T as a teachers' organization who do not understand the advantages of affiliation. The phase of democracy which tends to unify different groups in society was demonstrated to the great satisfaction of those who heard the addresses of welcome and had the privilege of attending the St Paul Trades and Labor Assembly. The Convention in St Paul has strengthened the conviction that the American Federation of Teachers is doing a work essential to the preservation of our integrity as a nation—a work some phases of which are being attempted by no other group of teachers.

L P DOVE

*Local 134, A F of T, University of North Dakota*

The slogan of the A F of T, Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy was not at any time consciously stressed, but it was my



good fortune to see an organization that was a living epitome of this slogan! From the warm-hearted welcome of Mayor Hodgson who said: "this is the first time I have had the opportunity to address a truly democratic body of teachers" to the annual election conducted under the Hare system of proportional representation, there was no repression of the democratic spirit. No secret caucuses, no gag rule, no star chamber stuff that we so commonly associate with national conventions. Absolute harmony and frank utterance were so common as to become routine.

Furthermore, came the inspiration from the moving characters in the splendid fights for democracy in the schools of New York, Buffalo, Fresno, San Francisco and other cities. The appalling lack of efficient, decisive, assertive leadership in the teaching profession that is traceable to initiative which has been smothered under the blanket of so-called "loyalty" was brought into strong relief by contrast with the excellent leadership displayed in the fight courageously waged for simple elemental human rights and generously endorsed by public opinion when given the opportunity. The teacher is learning leadership.

It was an inspiration to see a high idealism pervading the social movement. It gives a hopeful outlook to see the intelligence and democratic judgment which is part of the essential equipment of the trained teacher being felt in the conference chambers from the national congress down to the trade and labor assemblies of the cities.

It was a strong rebuke to enemies of the A F of T who have accused them of crass materialism to note that an infinitesimal portion of the resolutions were offered to improve the material welfare of the teacher while the great bulk were directed toward the correction of inequalities in our schools and the social system at large. The meaning of it all is to remove the teacher from its jocularly assigned place in the "third sex," and give it a place in the class of self-respecting human beings.

The address of William Mahoney, editor of *The Union Advocate*, and president of the Trades and Labor Assembly of St Paul, was at once

an inspiration and a challenge to American teachers. He believes that the material welfare of the teacher would be improved when the public knew of their plight, but the real job of the teachers was to furnish intelligent leadership. He said, "organized labor in itself might become a menace to the social welfare without the guidance and training of intelligent leadership that the democratic idealism of the teacher can supply."

The American Federation of Teachers has the background of idealism that is essential to its future greatness. The fifth annual convention at St Paul laid still further foundations of its claim of being the champion of Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy.

### CHESTERTON IS WITH UNIONS

#### Calls It Mistake for Professional Men to Side With Capital

"It is a mistake for the professional man to ally himself with the capitalist, and, since he will be dragged into one camp or the other, his position is with the workingman," said G K Chesterton, replying to a question as to what he thought of the action of a group of American playwrights in the American Society of Dramatists and Composers in repudiating the Actors' Equity. "I, myself, belong to two journalists' unions," he continued, punctuating the remark with a smile.

"One is a middle-class affair, and the other working class. You may say that my sympathies are with the unions. The whole middle class should cast its lot with labor, for the laborer is striving for an organization of a society of free men. Either we will have a more equitable distribution, or we will have slavery."

#### Patrons the Alternative

"But," the reporter suggested, "the artist and the writer believe that they cannot be tied down by trade union restrictions."

"If they do not join with the workingman," was the answer, "they must depend upon patrons. But you can't have patrons of art now. In the old days you might expect a patron to be a gentleman of culture. Capitalism has made it possible for the stupid man to acquire wealth, and the stupider he is the richer he gets. We have artists in England who do work for advertising. Fifty years ago that would have been impossible. Paintings to advertise soap—and pork!"

#### From a Country of Moderation

"I can see how the professional people are afraid of what they call the Bolshevism of labor; the bombs and riots and destruction. Or is that all literature? I come from a country where everything is done with moderation. Even the Reformation was accomplished with moderation, so that one part of the Established Church, the part to which I belong, can still call itself Catholic. With this tradition of moderation we in England do not fear violence in the labor movement."—From the *Globe*, New York, of January 26, 1921.



# Resolutions

*Adopted by the Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers  
St Paul, Minn, December 28-30, 1920*

At a time when there is a widespread spirit of reaction and when by direct attack and by innuendo the attempt is made to connect union labor in all its branches with destructive radicalism, it is peculiarly fitting and necessary that the American Federation of Teachers go on record as to Americanism and patriotism.

That we may have a statement of our stand on these points it is therefore matter for congratulation that the consideration and adoption of the following declarations were the first business which came before the convention:

## AMERICANIZATION

There is a general misconception of the problem of Americanization. Those who write and speak of it and the common conception of what it means agree in throwing the emphasis of the problem in the wrong place. They would make it the problem of assimilation of the immigrant. This we believe is not the true theory of Americanization.

The necessity for Americanization applies as fully to the native born as to the immigrant. The ignorance and apathy of the American citizen and voter are the most perilous factors in our politics. This is indicated by the discrepancy between the census and the poll lists, and between the registration and the vote cast. It is further shown by the general ignorance of political organization and methods, the lack of interest in or attendance upon meetings of county, city and school governing bodies, the sheep-like dependence on party organs or party leaders as a substitute for individual choice founded on knowledge of the facts.

To remove this ignorance, to abolish this apathy, ought therefore to be a principal function of education. The schools must be the agency by which citizens shall be trained to an understanding of the machinery of government, be made to realize the importance of personal attendance of citizens on meetings of governing bodies, in order to exercise that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Citizens must be trained to exercise their privilege and duty of voting and to understand how inevitably abstention from this privilege and duty throws political dominance into the hands of the worst elements among citizens. Citizens must be inspired to the study of public affairs, to deliberate choice between divergent measures. All this, in the measure to which it can be attained, is the work of the teacher.

It is the purpose of the American Federation of Teachers to urge upon its membership the importance of this work, and the splendid service which

they can give to the nation by doing it faithfully and consistently.

Any announcement of a program for Americanization should contain a definition of what meaning shall be attached to Americanism.

For those who assume that none but foreigners need to be "Americanized" a satisfactory method apparently would be a painless but complete excision from the foreigner's heart and brain of every tie that connects him by loving memories with his native land. If this wonder could be performed the further assumption is required that a clean, intelligent, overwhelming tide of affection for America as it is now must flood the whole being of the new-comer to our shores.

He must at once fully understand and approve our land, our institutions, our laws, our customs. He must revere the Constitution and adore the flag. He must become a political optimist, convinced that the United States government is the best of all possible government. He must be at once naive and docile in his acceptance and keen in appreciation of the beauties of our system.

If he is so unfortunate as to fail to take this humbly receptive attitude toward all that he finds here, he runs great risk of being classed as a dangerous radical. If he balances in his mind and expresses in speech or writing a doubt as to the superiority of American ideas and institutions over those to which he is accustomed or for which he has been striving in his homeland, if he believes that some matters here might be and ought to be improved, he becomes suspect. If he becomes indignant under exploitation amid miserable conditions of existence and denounces these conditions, he is subject to deportation.

But in fact, if that view is the true view of what makes an American, how many of the native born are good Americans? Do we not in all the groups and categories of our citizenship entertain our hopes and fears, our aspirations and our deep misgivings about many of the present phases of the national development? Should we ask more of the immigrant in loyalty and submission than we are able to give as sons and daughters of this land?

As educators our first duty is intellectual honesty. Our function of instruction becomes a mockery without that. We can honestly point out to the new citizen and to his children that America is the most hopeful example in the history of the world; that because of her basic principles and her organization, America is the land of opportunity; that with ballots in their hands her citizens can bring about



changes upon which a majority may determine after full debate; that because this is true it is a crime for citizens to appeal to violence or to disregard constitutional procedure.

This work can be done universally and effectively only by the public schools. It is distinctively a function of public education. We pledge the American Federation of Teachers that this shall be done thoroughly, sanely and continuously so far as our influence with teachers and the people prevail. We are convinced that the practical application of this program is necessarily the function of the class-room teacher and therefore we regard it as a field in which our national organization of class-room teachers is peculiarly called to service.

We pledge ourselves to impress deeply upon those whose thinking is so greatly under our direction the fact that our political organization is designed to express the will of the majority with due protection to the rights of minorities; that that will must be expressed by vote and not by violence; that other methods are inexcusable and most dangerous to the continuance of a democracy.

#### PATRIOTIC SERVICE

The American Federation of Teachers declares its earnest purpose to be a servant of the public welfare. Its desire is to be one of the great formative factors in making education in America the actual and effective basis of sane and steady progress which it ought to be. To this end our federation is drawing the class-room teachers of America into a closer brotherhood; informing them of their community of interest in the main problems of society; improving the standards of qualification for teaching; increasing the value of the schools to the people; providing needed publicity to the people regarding their schools; striving to secure for teachers their due weight in determining educational policy thru teachers councils, in legislatures; promoting the adoption of local, state and national legislation to advance the efficiency of education.

The attention of the American Federation of Teachers for the past two years has naturally been largely focussed upon an effort for improved financial support for education. In this effort our organization has done a great service to the whole teaching force of the nation whose attention has been directed to the same thing. The time has not yet come when we can relax our activity in regard to better pay for teachers because poor pay is inseparable from and fundamental to the prevailing deterioration of public education—a deterioration which has not been arrested by the very inadequate increases which have been granted to teachers in the past two years. However, the impetus to better support of the schools has been given by our own efforts no less than by those of other teachers' organizations. Improvement has begun. The public

is becoming aroused to the needs and will not be content with anything less than adequate provision for better schools.

The American Federation of Teachers is therefore justified in dividing its attention between the completion of its work of publicity and propaganda for improving teachers' pay and its original and fundamental purpose of making the class-room teacher the real factor in education which he should be.

This shift marking not a return to our original task, but a renewed emphasis on what we have never ceased to insist upon, was noticeable in the resolutions and the discussions at the Convention.

The principles which we have asserted—of democracy in education, education for democracy, better pay and better teaching conditions, a larger initiative and participation of teachers in educational and administrative councils—have been so right and so vital that in many quarters they have compelled their own acceptance.

The results to which we can point as definite achievements of our organization are:

1. Improved salaries for teachers by means of the cooperation of labor groups.
2. Improved salaries for teachers outside the affiliated groups.
3. A considerable adoption and successful operation of teachers' councils.
4. The reorganization "along democratic lines" of practically every important organization of teachers, including the National Education Association.
5. The development of teacher initiative and leadership independent of official superiors.

It is certainly not the desire of union labor to maintain schools apart from the public school system if public school authorities can be induced to offer the kind of education which union labor wants. There is evidenced by labor in establishing labor schools and colleges nothing of the spirit of snobishness which animates the wealthy and socially elect who maintain the private schools. Special types of educational work have constantly been developed outside the schools and under pressure of public demand have been adopted into the public educational system. But in many cases this process of initiation, upbuilding and inclusion takes the lifetime of a generation. And labor cannot wait.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

Whereas, recent experience in Illinois, Wisconsin, Oregon, New York, California, Texas and several other states lends certainty to our conviction that Labor Unions are the friends of education and the earnest advocates of a progressive program of education, and

Whereas, the state federations of labor in these and other states are willing and eager to give support and publicity to efforts for school betterment,



*Be it Resolved*, that locals of the American Federation of Teachers generally be informed of the possibility of making use of such support and endorsement and be advised, where conditions permit, to make full use of this support. To this end locals are urged to send delegates to the conventions of the labor federation of their states,

*Be it further Resolved*, that the A F of T express its deep appreciation of the loyal and consistent support so generously given by the labor union movement.

*Whereas*, reports published by the National Bureau of Education show that the teacher shortage is now over 100,000, and of those in actual service over one-half, or 350,000, are classed as below the normal standard in qualifications, and

*Whereas*, the tendency is still further to relax standards already too low, and

*Whereas*, organizations of teachers maintain no standards of qualification as pre-requisites to membership in their organization and

*Whereas*, both professional and craft organizations have set us a standard which we shall do well to emulate.

*Therefore, be it Resolved*, that it be recommended by the Fifth Annual Convention to the Executive Council that hereafter no local be chartered unless at least three-fifths of the group applying for a charter shall have had a professional training or education of at least two years beyond a high school course.

*Whereas*, in some states the option is offered between military training and genuine physical training. In many cities of California, for example, military drill is imposed upon the High School students without option. Not only is military training not a substitute for genuine physical training, but the continuation of military drill in the public schools will tend to fix the traditions of militarism in the minds of our boys, and will tend to postpone universal disarmament,

*Therefore be it Resolved*, that the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers go on record as opposed to military training in the public high schools; (1) because it is not an adequate substitute for physical training; (2) because militarism should be discouraged, not encouraged.

*Resolved*, that the American Federation of Teachers goes on record as unalterably opposed to the effort of any state Board of Education to establish provision for the Sabbatical year for teachers of exceptional ability, leaving the election of such teachers to the judgment of said Board or Presidents of State Institutions.

*Resolved*, that the American Federation of Teachers reiterates its earnest support of the principles embodied in the Smith-Towner bill revised.

*Resolved*, further that the convention instruct its Executive Council to use every effort to secure its advance the measures provided in that bill under whatever form it may appear in congress and that the Executive Board take advantage of any opportunity to improve the provisions of the bill as occasion may offer.

#### LABOR EDUCATION

##### A Call to Unions of Teachers

*(Approved by the National Convention)*

The teachers' unions of the eastern states, in conference in the city of New York, November 26 and 27, issue this call to their sister organizations the country over to give earnest thought to the problem of adult education which at present is hopelessly inadequate, because such work is administered at present by boards which are unsympathetic toward labor, and is done by teachers who do not understand the workers' needs.

We believe that adult education is a problem of importance second only to the problem of child education. Adult education needs teachers who are especially prepared for the work, and it needs an administration which realizes the importance of education for the workers.

A teaching force so equipped can be the result only of a conscious and conscientious training, and an administration so qualified can come only from the ranks of labor.

*We urge, therefore:*

(1) That our brother and sister unionists in the teaching ranks prepare themselves for such educational work by a study of history, economics and trade unionism;

(2) That our brother and sister unionists in the teaching ranks get into intimate contact thru association with the workers in all walks of life. We urge them as opportunity permits to *attend* their meetings and to join in their social life. Only thru such intimate contact can teachers learn to know the worker and the worker's needs; and

(3) That teachers' unions everywhere assist and even take the lead, where there is need in the movement to organize workers' schools administered by and for workers.

The American Federation of Teachers approves the effort of labor union groups to determine the kind of education which best suits their needs. We regret the neglect of the public educational system to meet the demands for the adequate education of adults. We urge upon the authorities of public education study of the democratic methods which



appear to be employed in many labor colleges, and also consideration of the new educative material used in the labor schools. We call to the attention of public education authorities the fact that their neglect to occupy this important field tends to bring about the dissolution of solidarity in popular support of a public school system.

In conformity with the committee report to the Montreal Convention of the American Federation of Labor with regard to the advisability of preparing text books suitable for the use of labor union members, and in order to encourage the actual carrying out of the suggestions contained in the report,

*Be it Resolved*, that the American Federation of Teachers in its convention at Denver be urged by our delegates to appoint a committee to carry out the suggestions by securing writers for such text books and appropriating funds to pay for writing and publishing them.

*Whereas*, labor as a whole has not taken enough interest in seeking the appointment or election of its representatives to Boards of Education and to certain educational advisory boards established by law,

*Be it Resolved*, that we strongly urge in view of the great importance of this matter that all local, central and state labor organizations appoint education committees the function of which shall be to keep constant lookout for opportunities to have labor representatives appointed to boards of education and to educational advisory boards.

In view of the fact that members of labor unions have been elected to municipal offices in certain localities and probably will be elected in increasingly large numbers to such offices,

*Be it Resolved*, that the American Federation of Teachers use its influence to establish in convenient centers suitable extension courses that deal with problems of city administration.

#### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

*Whereas*, it is necessary that the coming generations be trained vocationally, as well as culturally, in order that the youth of to-day who are to be the workers and producers of tomorrow may be better prepared to meet the problems of life efficiently, and

*Whereas*, vocational education has proved its worth,

*Therefore*, we, the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled urge that the following classes of public schools be established and extended, insofar as local conditions justify.

*First*, Day Vocation Schools, open to graduates of elementary schools.

The aim of these schools is to train young men and women for direct entrance into the trades as skilled mechanics. These schools to rank as high schools.

*Second*, Day Prevocational Schools, open to seventh, eighth and ninth year pupils. The aim of these schools is to enable the pupils to select trades for which they are fitted by giving them an opportunity to work at different trades, also after a pupil has selected the trade he wishes to follow to teach him enough of the rudiments of this craft to enable him to enter this trade as an apprentice at a somewhat more advanced stage than if he had no trade training.

*Third*, These schools to rank as junior high schools. Evening Trade Schools, whose aim it is to enable men and women engaged at a trade to perfect themselves in certain phases of their work, or to prepare themselves for foremanship or superintendencies.

*Fourth*, Evening Prevocational Schools, for those who are working in blind alley jobs and may wish to enter a trade, and for those who may wish to change their occupation. The scope of the work of these schools to be the same as the "Day Prevocational School."

*Fifth*, Continuation Schools, for employed minors under eighteen years of age, who have not finished a four year high school course. The scope of the work of these schools to be as required under the New York State Continuation School law (Art. 22, Ed. Law).

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT

The recommendation of the November, 1920, session of the Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers is accepted, that the Executive Council of the Eastern Conference send letters to all central labor bodies in the United States requesting them to use their influence to organize teachers' locals where they are not already formed.

1. This should be done:

- (a) Thru invitation to union teachers in nearby locals to assist in organization work;
- (b) Thru the aid of state organizers;
- (c) Thru men and women interested in and fitted for such work in their own locals;
- (d) Thru the aid of educational committees organized in Women's Auxiliaries to craft unions where such auxiliaries exist.

2. Teachers' locals already organized should be urged to send delegates to their local central bodies and state federations to co-operate with them in every possible way, especially at the present time in their fight against open shop propaganda.

3. A committee should be appointed to request assistance from all magazines, papers and labor investigators having access to labor statistics and articles referring to the open shop, to compile this



material and distribute to all teachers' locals such literature as will help us to contend with this coming problem.

4. An education committee should be formed in each local to co-operate with similar committees elected or appointed from each labor body and the central labor body in each locality.

5. Every teacher's local should be urged to have a committee on labor co-operation to stand ready to assist labor bodies in every possible way.

*Whereas*, the problems of reconstruction are pressing heavily upon the world their need for solution, and whereas the underlying principle of this period of reconstruction is the need to translate the ideals of political democracy into industrial terms,

*Therefore be it Resolved*, that the American Federation of Teachers recognize in its affiliation with labor an opportunity for service to the nation which is offered by no other type of teachers' organization.

*Resolved*, that the convention instruct the President to appoint a committee of three before the close of the convention to prepare a comprehensive and well-written statement of the work accomplished and ideals held by the American Federation of Teachers. That this statement be published in the official organ, and separate copies be forwarded to selected teachers and bodies of teachers everywhere, and also be used by any publicity agency available to us.

*Resolved*, that the Executive Council be instructed to appoint a committee to devise ways and means of effecting a closer relation between the American Federation of Teachers and the Federal and municipal employee's unions.

*Resolved*, that the Executive Council be instructed to appoint a committee to devise ways and means of encouraging the organization of State and Sectional Federations of the American Federation of Teachers.

*Resolved*, that the Convention of the American Federation of Teachers authorize the Executive Council to appoint an unpaid Secretary for International Correspondence responsible to it. The duty of this officer shall be to obtain information and keep in close touch with the movements tending toward the establishment of an international federation of teachers' unions.

*Resolved*, that our delegates to the American Federation of Labor may, on behalf of the American Federation of Teachers, introduce such resolutions as are favored by a majority of our delegates attending the convention, unless specifically instructed in the matter involved.

*Resolved*, That the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to restore to the American Federation of Teachers the three organizers dropped on January 1, 1921. These instructions to be binding unless three-fourths of the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers believe that unexpected later developments make such action inadvisable.

#### TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

*Resolved*, that the teachers' council, democratically organized, is the instrument most available to teachers for attaining teacher participation in the management of the schools, and in the determination of educational policies. In order that the teachers' council may serve its purpose best, the council elected by teachers' organizations alone cannot stimulate the interest and represent the views of all the teachers. We believe that teachers' council, as a central body for the teachers should be representative of the entire body of teachers, and should include principals. But the quota of representation should be so determined that no single group such as elementary or high school groups may have a majority. We recommend that, wherever it is possible, local school councils be organized in the several schools. These local councils should be composed of all the teachers in the school, but the principal should not be included.

At the earliest time possible, organic relations should be established between the central teachers' council and the local councils so that every judgment expressed by the central body concerning the opinions of the teachers shall be referred to the local councils before it shall be said to express the views of the teachers.

It is the opinion of the American Federation of Teachers that after these councils have attained a satisfactory state of organization thru democratic effort they will be on the way to obtaining direct and legalized participation in the actual management of the schools.

We urge that the consideration of every resolution presented to the educational authorities by the teachers' council be brought about by the following regulation: That the educational authorities be required to reply to the communications within ninety days, either accepting, or when rejecting, explaining their reasons therefor.

#### ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS FOR BETTER SERVICE

*Whereas*, social revolution is now menacing the peace of the world; and

*Whereas*, America cannot safely pass thru the period of transformation unless the schools are in



the hands of the ablest teachers imbued with ideas of social service; therefore,

*Be it Resolved*, that to secure such teachers we insist that teaching be made attractive by establishing the following:

1. A Cultural Wage—that is, a wage that will enable teachers (a) to live according to the requirements of their position; (b) to provide for the hazards of life such as illness and old age; (c) to provide for culture and recreation and professional improvement.

2. An Index System of paying wages so that the purchasing power of the dollar is kept stationary.

3. A system of tenure which will secure to every efficient teacher a permanent right to his position.

4. Decent working conditions.

5. The right of the teachers to participate in the administration of the schools.

6. The establishment of the principle that teachers, like other citizens in the community, are entitled to the rights of self expression, the right to organize and to affiliate with such groups as they find desirable, and deem socially and spiritually sound.

*Whereas*, the disparity between the salaries paid in small towns or rural communities and those paid in large cities tends (1) toward the unsettling of the market for the services of teachers; (2) toward underbidding for the positions of teachers in cities, and confirming of the migratory habit of members of the teaching profession. The shift of teachers towards the centers of population is paralleled by a far more serious shift of rural population towards cities in which children may receive proper educational advantages.

*Therefore, be it Resolved*, that the American Federation of Teachers goes on record as approving in principle the zoning system in effect in Queensland, where favorable location is considered as extra-monetary compensation, and where teachers are compensated for the inconveniences they undergo on account of location. The principle involved is obviously that of equality of opportunity for teacher and for child.

The federation also approves the district consolidation in the rural schools.

*Resolved*, That the convention adopt as one of its educational principles the principle of equal pay for equal professional preparation and experience regardless of the grades or classes to-night.

This change, we realize, cannot be brought about with satisfaction unless conditions of work in all grades are equalized to the greatest possible degree by the democratic effort of the teachers.

#### GENERAL

*Resolved*, that the chairman be empowered to arrange and connect the material of the resolutions

for publication and to make such verbal corrections as may not affect the intent of the resolutions as adopted by the convention.

*Resolved*, that the address given by Mr. William Mahoney before the Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers be published in the official organ, and be offered for publication in all the trade union journals of the international bodies.

*Whereas*, in the war-devastated regions of Austria and Hungary the state-paid teachers in common with other public employees and paid in a depreciated currency and receive salaries too small to support life.

*Resolved*, that an emergency committee be appointed to bring to the attention of the American Relief Administration the distressful condition under which European teachers as a class are suffering in the war-stricken districts. We believe that the reconstruction of society in these countries demands that special attention be given to making possible effective work by the teachers of Central Europe.

*Resolved*, that the convention express to the St Paul locals its hearty approval of the excellent arrangements for the convenience of the convention and its sincere thanks for the successful work of the local committees.

*Resolved*, that the convention signify its earnest appreciation to the officials and citizens who gave us welcome and to the press for courteous notice; also to the Y W C A for the comfort and beauty of the convention hall and committee rooms.

In concluding this report your committee takes pleasure in pointing out the almost epoch-making nature of the convention's pronouncements in regard to loyalty and service, equality of pay for equal preparation regardless of grade taught, and particularly the standard of professional preparation of teachers as prerequisite for charter. On all these points the convention has reflected the vitality and enlightenment of the constituent locals and has marked a further stage of professional progress which we believe gives proof of the unique value of our class-room teacher movement.

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

WM T MCCOY, *Chairman*, Local 2, Chicago  
 MRS. ALMA ALLISON, Local 79, Milwaukee, Wis.  
 JOSEPHINE COBY, Local 72, Fresno, Cal.  
 GERTRUDE CORRIGAN, Local 89, Atlanta  
 LEONARD P DOVE, Local 134, Univ of N D  
 WM H KROGER, Local 24, New York  
 HENRY R LINVILLE, Local 5, New York  
 JENNIE MCLEOD, Local 128, Fargo, N. D.  
 KATHERINE REGAN, Local 35, Madison, Wis.



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Fifth Annual Convention  
St Paul, Minn

December 28 to 31, 1920

ROLL OF DELEGATES

Local	Delegates	Votes
2 Chicago Men	W T McCoy	1
	F G. Stecker	1
	C B Stillman	1
	Geo W Tanner	1
3 Chicago Women	Lucie W Allen	1
	Jennie A Wilcox	1
4 Gary	Ida Lull	1
	E B Carlile	1
5 Teachers Union of New York	Ruth G Hardy	3
	Abraham Lefkowitz	4
	Henry R Linville	4
8 Washington High School	Elizabeth I Gatch	1
24 New York Vocational	Wm Kroger	1
28 St. Paul Women	Margaret Buckley	1
	Mabel A Colter	1
	Emily E Dobbin	1
	Alice M Hosmer	1
	Florence Rood	1
	Edith Wallenburg	1
	Isabel Williams	1
35 Madison (Wis.)	Katherine Regan	2
36 New Orleans	Miss Shook	
43 St Paul Men	A D Bailey	1
	E J Harrell	1
52 Memphis	Genevieve Oakley	2
	Carlotta Pittman	3
59 Minneapolis Women	Florence Fish	1
	Lettie Hunt	1
71 Associated T (N Y)	Herman Defrem	2
72 Fresno High School	Josephine Colby	2
79 Milwaukee Normal	Mrs Alma Allison	
89 Atlanta	Gertrude Corrigan	3
	C E Phillips	4
128 Fargo, N D	Ruth Christie	1
	Jennie McLeod	1
134 University of N D	Leonard P Dove	2
138 Madison, S D	Alice Lorraine Daly	1
152 Oshkosh, Wis.	L C Feldman	2
182 Buffalo	Catherine A Cassidy	1
	Helen C Foody	1
	Mary A O'Connor	1
159 Minneapolis Men	Geo M Caveness	1

TO THE MEMBERS

The service of our efficient business manager, Mr Max Rosenhaus, has terminated by his own desire. He gave much thought and skill to the work of organizing the system of distribution of the American Teacher to the members of the national organization. A continuance of the method followed by

him is earnestly hoped for by those who succeed him.

Gradually the locals are coming to adopt the system of having the periodical sent to a representative in each school covered by the list of our members. This obviates errors and is more economical. It also tends to prevent waste and to insure to new members the receipt of the periodical.

Permission to omit the publication of the December, 1920, issue was granted by the postal authorities.

DATA ON DUES

Many locals are considering the raising of dues. In fact, there will be few locals that will be able to escape this necessity on account of the increase in *per capita* that was made by the Fifth Convention.

Inquiry among the locals in the needle trades in New York City has brought some interesting information. We are glad to pass this knowledge along for the use of teachers' locals.

The Waistmakers Union receives dues of 25 cents a week, 10 cents of which is paid to the international as per capita.

The White Goods Workers Union receives dues of 25 cents a week from those whose pay is less than 15 dollars a week; from those whose pay is over 15 dollars, the dues are 35 cents a week; 10 cents goes to the international.

The Hat and Cap Workers Union receives from the members of two locals 30 cents a week, and from six locals 40 cents a week. The international receives from 13 to 17 cents a week.

The Millinery Workers receive from the locals of women members 30 cents a week, and 40 cents from the locals having men in the membership.

The Upholsterers Union (women) receives one dollar a month, and collects three dollars at a time in advance.

The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union receives 75 cents a month. If a member falls behind three months and desires to be reinstated, she must pay 25 cents additional.

TEACHERS WILL VOTE ON INCREASE OF DUES

Action upon the amendment proposed at the annual meeting of the Milwaukee Teachers' Association\* on Wednesday, whereby the dues will be raised from \$1 to \$10 quarterly, will be taken at the February meeting. It is expected that this will eliminate special assessments. The proposed change does not anticipate an increase in the gross expenditures of the organization, but merely does away with the assessments which were formerly made to support various undertakings of the association.—*From the Milwaukee News of January 13, 1921.*

\* Not a teachers union.



# The Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers

RUTH G HARDY

*Secretary, Eastern Conference*

The First Session of the Eastern Conference was held in Philadelphia at Easter, 1920. The Second Session was held in New York on November 26, 27, 1920. The territory represented by the delegates to the Second Session was practically the same as that represented in the First Session, as far north as Boston and as far South as Washington.

There is a reputation that has come to characterize all conferences of locals of the American Federation of Teachers. They waste no time listening to addresses by anybody. Not that union teachers are indifferent to the ideas and messages of leaders of educational thought, but rather because the teachers themselves have work to do in their own behalf and in behalf of constructive education. Thus the day and three-quarters was full enough.

Aside from the constructive work done in the reports of committees, an especially interesting feature of the Session was the account given by President Stillman of the progress of organization and defense made in Pennsylvania and in the South and West. Mr Wilmer Stone of Local 5, New York, gave a very instructive report on the World Labor Situation. Mrs Bina Ryan, of Local 45, Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, reported on the fight for the right to maintain an organization in her locality. The meeting of Friday evening, November 26, was given up to reports on "The Professional Unions in the Coming Struggle on the Open Shop Issue." The program was given by two members of Local 71, New York, Mr John A Fitch, of the School for Social Work, and Mr George Soule, of the Labor Bureau. Both of these able students of industry and industrial movements have contributed articles to the American Teacher.

A considerable portion of the work of the committees as recorded in the form of resolutions has been accepted by the Fifth Convention of

the American Federation of Teachers, and has now become a part of our national propaganda. However, three reports are different enough from those considered by the national convention to justify their publication here.

## COMMITTEE ON TEACHER PARTICIPATION

We favor the establishment in every school of a council of teachers to co-operate with the administrative officers in all matters affecting the welfare of the school. The council should include the entire teaching staff in each school. The functions of the council should be to make available for the benefit of the school the pooled experience and organized co-operation of the teachers. This should be offered first in the execution of existing policies leading to the formulation of new policies. We believe that such school councils are destined to be the foundation of democratic administration in the schools.

We therefore urge teachers' unions everywhere to take the initiative in the establishment of these councils. The members in each school should seek the co-operation of other progressive teachers and form, with the latter, an organization committee. The aim of the organization committee should be to engage the interest of the entire faculty in the idea of the council.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

It is recommended by the Committee on School Improvement that the locals of the Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers create the opportunity actually to improve the work of the school teachers in their own localities. By improving the teaching in the schools teachers will be engaged in establishing their own standards of work. By endeavoring to improve the working of the school systems of the several localities, they will be impressing upon the people their right to participate in the management of the schools.

As a concrete plan for improving the schools, it is recommended that the locals work out a comprehensive study of the schools in their own towns, cities or countries. If the authorities of the school systems contemplate making school surveys in the immediate future, it is urged that the teachers offer their services in the work of studying the schools from the point of view of the teachers themselves.



The teachers may reasonably ask that their own inquiries be carried on in their own way, and under their own management. Only in this way can the study be valuable to the public itself. The teachers should not, however, postpone investigation of the schools until the authorities are ready on their own account to proceed with work of this kind. The improvement of the schools cannot wait upon the convenience of any individual or interest.

It is recommended that locals establish committees for the collection of data concerning the three natural phases of school organization and life; namely, the physical condition under which the school work is carried on, the conditions relating to administration, and the conditions relating to teaching. One of these committees should be entrusted with the work of analyzing the specific conditions under each of these headings which directly or indirectly affect their communities. Having done this scientifically, completely and without bias or fear, questionnaires should be prepared and forwarded to all the teachers within their own organizations. Committees whose duties it would be to obtain answers to the questions could then deliver the results over to committees capable of studying the answers and formulating the facts under general conclusions and recommendations.

In order to obtain the support necessary to have conditions changed, the locals should send committees to appear before their affiliated labor bodies, and also before civic bodies of standing to make public their findings. In communities where locals are strong, it is recommended that the findings be published in book or pamphlet form. Thus in a dignified and impressive way there would develop the tradition of the right of teachers to direct and possibly control the development of the schools.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers rejoices that teachers everywhere are awakening to the full meaning of their professional responsibility. Teachers have always devoted themselves in self-sacrifice to society. Too often, however, they have been rewarded by having to contemplate schools starved by niggardliness and strangled by routine. Meanwhile they could not conceal from themselves a progressive loss of public respect and a significant dearth of qualified recruits.

An increasing pressure of poverty and a better understanding of vocational psychology have at last revealed to teachers the indispensable conditions of effective service to the community. Like other workers, teachers cannot serve society well without adequate pay and democratic working conditions.

These truths once perceived, it was inevitable that teachers should join the ranks of organized

labor—today the strongest protector and preserver of the means of production and of our democratic institutions. The labor unions have always led in the struggle for better schools. Like ourselves, their members are striving to win the pay and working conditions necessary to human dignity and social efficiency. We could not stand aloof.

Our affiliation with the labor movement is practically expedient and spiritually sound. We are convinced that from it alone can spring the morale that will establish a true guild of teachery, dignifying teaching and improving both the teacher and the school. With the friendliest disposition toward us, our fellow citizens can hardly of themselves convert sentiment and words into legislation and appropriations. We call upon all teachers who believe in efficient service as to high social ideal to join us in securing better pay, more certain tenure and the working conditions of free men and women. Only when we have these shall we be able to send out from our schools men and women fitted to develop the highest ideals of America.

#### DELEGATES TO EASTERN CONFERENCE

November 26-27, 1920

New York City

Miss Matilda L Beck, Local 87, Jersey City, N J.  
Mr J Vincent Crowne, Local 71, New York.  
Mr Allan Davis, Local 156, Washington, D C  
Mr Herman Defrem, Local 71, New York.  
Mr John Donohue, Local 5, New York.  
Mr Arthur K Harris, Local 92, Paterson, N J  
Mr Dwight O W Holmes, Local 33, Washington, D C  
Miss Ruth G Hardy, Local 5, New York.  
Mr Joseph Jablonower, Local 5, New York.  
Miss Elizabeth Jack, Local 179, Philadelphia.  
Miss Sara Joffe, Local 5, New York.  
Miss Helen T Keefe, Local 85, Boston, Dorchester.  
Mr Abraham Lefkowitz, Local 5, New York.  
Mrs Johanna M Lindlof, Local 5, New York.  
Mr Henry R Linville, Local 5, New York.  
Miss Lulu MacIntosh, Local 16, Washington, D C  
Mrs Marie M Marshall, Local 27, Washington, D C  
Mr C P A Peterson, Local 24, New York.  
Mrs Bina M Ryan, Local 45, Mahoney City, Pa.  
Miss Henrietta Rodman, Local 5, New York.  
Miss Mathilde A Schuldt, Local 87, Jersey City, N J  
Mr Bird Stair, Local 71, New York.

#### SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS OF CALIFORNIA DENOUNCE TEACHERS' UNION

Issued by the Publicity Bureau of the California State Federation of Teachers

Stern opposition to any association of teachers with organized labor was the outstanding feature of the Convention of City and County Superintendents of California schools recently concluded at Riverside. A report of the proceedings written for the November issue of *The Sierra*.



*Educational News*, the official organ of the California Teachers' Association by Mr A J Cloud, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco, and Mr James A Barr, Assistant Editor of the *News*, revealed a spirited discussion of teachers' organizations and especially of teachers' unions.

Superintendents H B Wilson, of Berkeley, Jerome O Cross, of Fresno, and Mrs Susan M Dorsey, of Los Angeles led the attack on the unions, and the knockout blow was finally administered by the unanimous adoption of a resolution introduced by Superintendent Dorsey, praising the efforts made by the school boards and superintendents of Fresno and San Francisco to stamp out the teachers' unions of those cities.

The resolution has drawn much humorous comment. In both cities the teachers' unions are healthy and active. In each case the attacks of the educational hierarchy provided the precise stimulus necessary to create among the teachers a grim determination to do their own thinking, and to form such associations as their study and experience have convinced them are necessary to the well being of American democracy. The ludicrous part of the whole performance is that Superintendent Roncovieri, of San Francisco, has always posed as a member of the Musician's Union, and in January, 1919, he actually wrote officials of the American Federation of Teachers asking for such information as would enable him to render effective assistance to the San Francisco teachers in organizing themselves into a union. Further, within a month after the resolution received the unanimous approbation of the Superintendents' Convention, the San Francisco Teachers' Union saw the successful finish of its fight for the reorganization of the city's school system. Charter amendment No 37, passed by a huge majority in the November election, took the absolute choice of the Board of Education out of the hands of the Mayor and made the office of Superintendent of Schools appointive instead of elective. Amendment No 25, backed by Superintendent Roncovieri and the City Teachers' Association and designed to perpetuate the old political system, was ignominiously defeated.

Again, Principal Addicott of the Polytechnic High School, who was dismissed after a so-called

hearing before the Board of Education of charges preferred against him by Supt Roncovieri, himself a member of the Board, received the fearless support of the teachers' union all thru his persecution. Mr Addicott has just been reinstated at the order of Mayor Rolph after City Attorney Lull found that the Superintendent's case had not been substantiated. Evidently the high esteem in which the Superintendents of California hold the Roncovieri policies is not shared by the voters of San Francisco.

*The Sierra News* says that Supt Wilson of Berkeley found that "the ends for which teachers' unions strive are unsound." Hence, he objected to the principles laid down in the following statement of the objects of the American Federation of Teachers as given in the Constitution of that organization.

"Art. 2. The object of this organization shall be to bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and co-operation; to obtain for them all the rights and benefits to which they are entitled; to raise the standard of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service; and to prosecute such a democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social and political life of the community."

Supt Wilson's emphatic assertion of the unsoundness of the objectives for which teachers' unions strive was of course an emphatic assertion of the unsoundness of the objectives of the American Federation of Labor with which the teachers' unions are affiliated. Yet when one comes to think of it those objectives have been such things as improved sanitation and housing, safety devices in mills and mines and on railroads, such wages and hours of labor as will enable men to be efficient citizens, democratic election of United States Senators, postal savings banks, abolition of the "sweating" system in industry, abolition of the "swea'ting" system in industry, the Initiative and Referendum, the Australian or secret ballot, *free public schools without distinction of class or creed*, and part-time and vocational education. The platform of the British Labor Party demands "the recognition, financially and otherwise, of the teaching professions, *without distinction of grade*, as one of the most valuable to the community."



Superintendent Cross loudly emphasized the great danger to democracy of any "entangling alliance" of the teachers with organized labor dedicated to such a program, for the alliance must necessarily make them self-conscious. While he did not name a single dishonorable thing that the teachers' unions of Fresno had done, as the Superintendents present expected he would, yet, according to press reports, he asserted that his experience had shown him that the matter of the teachers' unions cannot be settled by mere peaceful "conference; it seemed to him that a baseball bat or a gatling gun is needed." In other words, these are the only weapons by which the eighty university-trained teachers of the Fresno high school can be induced to bury their dangerous union convictions and accept the constructive democratic ideas of Supt Cross. Genius shown in devising such a simple method of nurturing real democracy in the minds of teachers "In the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," brings its financial rewards: shortly after the Convention the press of Fresno printed a notice that Supt Cross had received a salary increase of \$1,000, a grateful acknowledgment of his services under the care of a school board that itself had driven from the Fresno schools, without giving any cause whatever, teachers of state-wide educational repute who were officers of the teachers' unions.

#### WHERE UNCLE SAM'S MONEY GOES

According to the United States Bureau of Standards, 93 cents out of every dollar of Uncle Sam's money this year goes for war, past, present or to come.

Only one cent out of every dollar goes for education and the improvement of the public health.

Copies of this remarkable analysis of our national budget may be secured on application to Dr E B Rosa, United States Bureau of Standards, Washington, D C.

Whereas the cities spend an average of \$6 per capita for education per year, and the states and private agencies about \$3 per year per capita for education, Uncle Sam with his huge billions only spends 6 cents per capita for education,—and some of that goes to the "land grant" colleges for military drill!

Without anybody in the country realizing it, your Uncle seems to have become obsessed with militarism to the exclusion of the normal, balanced interests of government. Of course, the truth is merely that the army and navy have developed a "technique" for extracting from Congress huge ap-

propriations whereas the other departments have not.

According to the analysis quoted above, the national government is levying a tax of \$50 this year upon every man, woman and child in the United States, and of this amount \$46.50 goes for war and militarism.

Now on top of it, that ex-actor, Congressman Julius Kahn of California, genially proposes a system of universal military training which will cost the country, according to Congressman Mondell, the Republican floor leader and watchdog of the treasury, in the neighborhood of one billion dollars a year!—*From Bulletin of American Union Against Militarism.*

---

## This is the Official Organ of the American Federation of Teachers

---

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

Executive Council of the American Federation  
of Teachers

*President*, CHARLES B STILLMAN, Chicago, No 2  
1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill

*Secretary-Treasurer*, F G STECKER, Chicago, No 2  
State Bank Building, Wilmette, Ill

*Field Secretary, Vice-President*  
JOSEPHINE COLBY, Fresno, No 72  
1024 Garrick Building, Chicago, Ill

*Editor, The American Teacher, Vice-President*  
HENRY R LINVILLE, New York City, No 5  
70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N Y

#### Vice-Presidents

E B CARLILE, Gary, No 4  
1325 Ellsworth Street, Gary, Ind

HERMAN DEFREM, New York City, No 71  
2875 Broadway, New York, N Y

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ, New York City, No 5  
Grand Avenue, East Elmhurst, N Y

W T MCCOY, Chicago, No 2  
5508 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill

S G MCLEAN, Sacramento, No 31  
4163 Piedmont Avenue, Oakland, Calif

MARY A O'CONNOR, Buffalo, No 182  
711 Elk Street, Buffalo, N Y

C E PHILLIPS, Atlanta, No 89  
94 Brookline Street, Atlanta, Ga

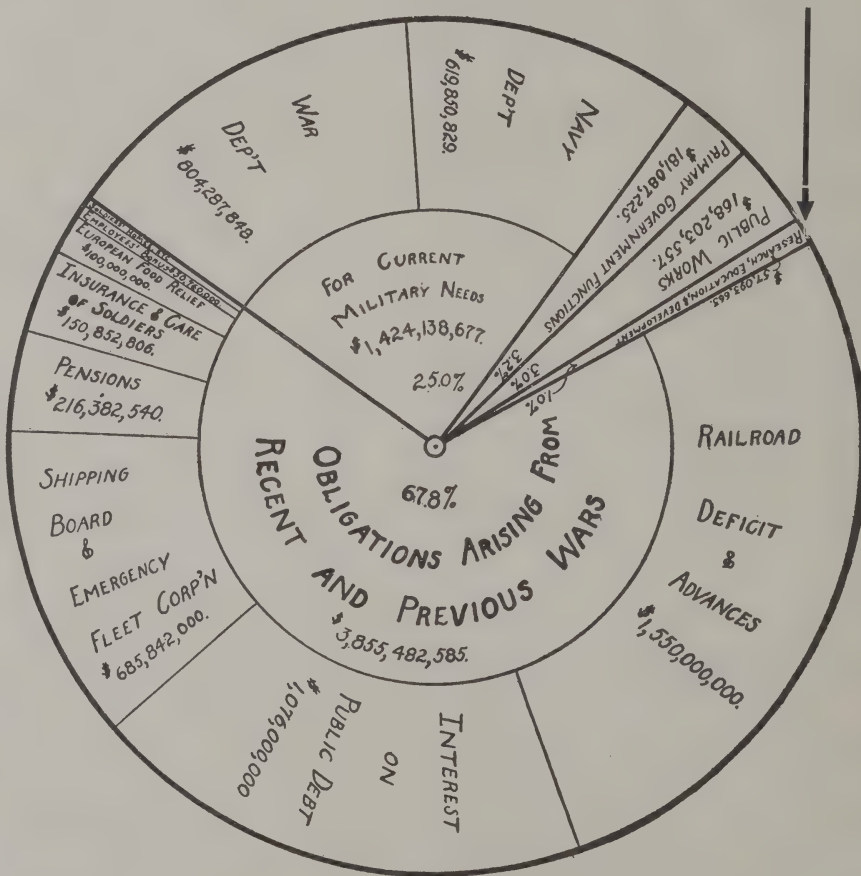
JENNIE A WILCOX, Chicago, No 3  
212 North Grove Avenue, Oak Park, Ill

ISABEL WILLIAMS, St Paul Women, No 28  
554 Holly Avenue, St Paul, Minn



# UNCLE SAM'S MONEY PIE

## WHAT WE GET FOR CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT



NEARLY ALL THE REST FEEDS THE ELEMENTS  
OF NATIONAL LIFE THAT DESTROY

(See "Where Uncle Sam's Money Goes," page 23)



370.5 331.805  
AMT TEAA

REMOTE STORAGE

*The*

# AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of  
the American  
Federation  
of Teachers

FEBRUARY, 1921

A New Form of Service



Report of the President



Should Teachers Unionize?



News from the Locals

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy



# The Education of China

CHO SAM LEONG

*Principal, Wah Mun School, Honolulu, Hawaii*

CHINA became a republic ten years ago, but from 1911 till now the new republic has been harassed, and has not had a single day's rest.

There are many reasons for this, but the main one is the lack of education. I was among the first revolutionists of China, and know the situation of my country well.

The schools of China are fewer than in America. Ninety per cent of the Chinese have never attained to high school. Nearly all of the Chinese teachers in the high schools and universities are graduates of schools in Japan. They have espoused monarchism and old ideas, and treat the Chinese pupils like slaves. Practically all of the pupils who graduate from the Chinese schools know nothing of the principles of justice and freedom, or of the aims of the Republic. They are purposely not instructed in these ideas.

So the important revolution for China today is the reformation of the Chinese teacher and thru him of education.

Teachers' unions in the American Federation of Teachers are found all over the United States, and I am a member of one of those unions. I hope that I can interest my fellow teachers in China in this great and progressive movement for the absolute freeing of teachers and pupils.

I think that a teachers' union in China, under the American Federation of Teachers would wake up the Chinese teachers to progressive ways of thinking.

## CHINESE TEACHERS' STRIKE SPREADING

THE teachers' strike, involving eight Government schools and universities and 6,000 students, which began last week owing to the Government's inability to meet the teachers' demands for four months' back pay, is now assuming nationwide importance, due to the teachers' demands that the Government reserve a fixed annual revenue for educational purposes.

The Minister of Education attempted to resign last week owing to his inability to obtain funds to meet the arrears of salary due the teachers and to insure that the Government would establish a permanent educational fund. He remains in office, however, owing to pressure from the teachers and will stand or fall with them. He now is attempting to obtain the cooperation of the Chinese Chambers of Commerce to induce the Government to reserve a portion of the income tax for educational uses.—*From Cable Dispatch to N Y Evening Post.*

**Showing that Chinese teachers do need the union.**

## CONTENTS

EDITORIALS . . . . .	27
OUR DUTY . . . . .	29
REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE ANNUAL CONVENTION . . . . .	31
SHOULD TEACHERS UNIONIZE? . . . . .	36
THE MODERN HEALTH CRUSADE . . . . .	40
NEWS FROM THE LOCALS . . . . .	42
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .	46
SALARIES AND THE COST OF LIVING . . . . .	48



# The American Teacher

Entered as second-class matter, Feb. 21, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Published at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, monthly, except July and August. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized September 27, 1919.

Volume X, No. 2

FEBRUARY, 1921

One Dollar a Year

## A NEW KIND OF CRITICISM OF UNIONISM

Mr Glenn Frank, the Editor of *The Century Magazine*, writes in the February issue of that periodical a critical analysis of the union movement among teachers. The first impression a reader may get of Mr Frank's editorial (reprinted by consent, see page — of this issue) is that this is another attack, but it is not that. It is highly intelligent and has the ring of sincerity. If we do not agree with Mr Frank, we should tell him wherein he has erred. Our members are urged to go over the editorial carefully, and write Mr Frank what they think of it. Our movement will hold together not because we get something out of it, but because it is sound. It is entirely fitting that members should welcome criticism that strikes at the foundation of the union movement. Thus we invite a test, which is always good.

## A NEW FORM OF SERVICE

Certain quoted paragraphs contained in this issue relate to a school survey at present under way in the City of New York. This survey is being conducted by teachers. It is without question the first activity of this kind ever begun by teachers in their own territory. This particular survey is undertaken without the consent and approval of the educational authorities. There is even opposition on the part of the officials. All of this, however, is incidental to the important fact that teachers are beginning to show interest in the facts of their surroundings. This interest must lead to the creation of standards for the improvement of conditions, and later to activity in the direction of establishing the standards as codes of practice. There are certain economic reasons why no other group will put itself out to establish the best possible conditions in the schools, even for the children. If the teachers are

unwilling to undertake it, even with the risk involved to their comfort of mind, then it will not be done at all.

Teachers must do it, and especially union teachers. Others are likely to regard this form of service as improper, or undignified. But it is particularly important to union teachers to consider this form of work as perhaps one of the first and best of the possible contributions they may make out of their idealism. New York is ready to give advice to those in other parts who think well of this form of service.

## TEACHERS' COUNCILS

Now and then there are hopeful indications that the idea of the teachers' council is finding acceptance. In fact, union teachers generally believe that the frequent adoption of the council will be the first step we shall take in the direction of participation in school management. Nevertheless, there is increasing doubt in the minds of many that the council in the form in which it was originally framed, the one in which it is still commonly thought of, will meet the growing demand for participation. The objection offered to the typical council plan is that its recommendations involve no responsibility. It has no legal opportunity to test its own suggestions. It has no real incentive to continue to make contributions. There is no reason why it should begin to make suggestions. Something of this point of view has been expressed by Prof. John M Brewer, of the Harvard School of Education, in *School and Society* of September, 1920,

## THE WOLF IN THE SHEEP'S SKIN

The one crying need of "Big Business" at the present moment is a large mass of docile, contented, easily manipulated unskilled workers. As long as the hordes of foreign immigrants of a decade or two ago were beating in constantly



accelerated waves upon our shores, there was nothing to worry over. As one contingent after another became acclimated to the political and economic conditions of our country, as the individuals passed, either slowly or rapidly, thru that vague process—Americanization—and were absorbed into the citizenship of our population, others followed on their heels and kept the ranks solid. There was no lack of ready hands and seemingly inexhaustible energy that the bottomless pit of our industrial structure demands. The employers of labor, the magnates of our sources of production did not have to waste their time devising plans how to educate their “hands,” how to provide for them adequate schooling, how to free them from the shackles of illiteracy. Now, however, the aspect of the matter has changed completely. The world war and the artificially restricted immigration we have adopted as a policy, have cut us off from the labor market of the world. While the unionization of those who came in previous years, as well as the adoption of the American standard of living, have played havoc with the vast aggregations of Poles and Slavs and Italians that had constituted the raw men power, out of which the unskilled laborers were recruited. Of all this, our industrial machinery is beginning to show the strain.

What is to be done? Obviously, one thing. Keep the workers complacent, acquiescent—in short, make them stick to their jobs by subjecting them to those influences that will act as intellectual and emotional opiates, that will produce a lethargy of the newly aroused and stirring desires to think for themselves. Wean them away from their trade unions with their constant efforts after higher standards, cause them to shut their ears to the siren voices of the agitators, teach them to look up to their employers as beneficent, kindly disposed “little white fathers” whose sole interest in life is to make their workmen happy.

But how is it to be accomplished? Where is to be obtained that personality—that combination of intelligence, subserviency—yes, even hypocrisy, that will do the bidding of the master, and at the same time hold the confidence and faith of the workers? And here is the answer:

[The italics are ours.] “For immigrant schooling, the *factory obviously offers* better promises than the *school house*. Such instruction should be given in co-operation with the employers, but at *public expense* and under *government direction*.” Strange, that so perfect a solution of a troublesome problem was not thought of before! and stranger still, that it was left for such forward-looking gentlemen as Coleman DuPont and William H Barr—both time-tried friends of labor, working thru the Inter-Racial Council (headquarters, New York) to evolve it. But no, let us give credit where credit is due. It is Albert S Shiels, late Superintendent of Public Schools of Los Angeles, California, and now the educational expert attached to the Inter-Racial Council who signs his name to the pamphlet from which the statement quoted above is taken. It is thus we are let into the secret as to what the Inter-Racial Council seeks to attain, and once more the word must go out to the little band that follows the gleam, and keeps the faith—on guard, brothers, on guard!

---

## The American Teacher

---

Democracy in Education      Education for Democracy  
Published monthly, except July and August, by  
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS  
at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City

### Board of Editors

HENRY R LINVILLE, *Chairman*

From Local 5, New York

ALICE M HERRING

ABRAHAM KOVAR

From Local 24, New York

JOHN E MANSFIELD

From Local 71, New York

BIRD STAIR

From Local 87, Jersey City, N J

.....

From Local 92, Paterson, N J

THOMAS P KYLE

---

At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes in address.

Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamps or check (New York exchange).

---

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR FOR THE YEAR.  
FOREIGN, \$1.10

# Our Duty

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

*Local 5, New York, A F of T*

We are now witnessing the tragic aftermath of the world's greatest and most destructive war which cost over \$300,000,000,000 or more than the value of the continent of North America. It cost the world over 9,000,000,000 of its choicest manhood. It is responsible for world underproduction, for economic inefficiency, for the starvation of European masses. It presages panics, bankruptcy, minor wars, an increase in the death rate, in crime, in insanity, in tuberculosis, in typhus, and in immorality. It means the under nourishment of millions of children and racial deterioration. It means the liberation of man's sordid instincts and the suppression of ideas civilization has developed. These blessings and others our arch-imperialists have bequeathed to us and, saddest of all, to our posterity.

The war was fought for democracy, for the rights of small nations, for the destruction of economic imperialism, for disarmament and for world peace. We secured world misery, numerous wars, increased armaments, the rape of small nations and tho we destroyed German imperialism, we replaced it with a group imperialism, destined to bring even more destructive wars in its wake. In addition, we won autocracy in industry and reaction in politics. In a word, we lost things won after years of sacrifice and bloodshed and gained practically nothing for which we fought and sacrificed. When I think of the good that could have been accomplished had \$300,000,000,000 and millions of men been employed for creative, humane and social purposes instead of for destructive, inhuman and anti-social purposes, I cannot refrain from asking, why war?

I shall not discuss the need for drastic economic reconstruction to eliminate world imperialism and its necessary concomitant—war. Instead, I shall touch briefly on that aspect of the question which vitally concerns us—the *educational*.

America is spending \$2,838,118,000 or 68 per cent of its annual income to pay for past wars;

\$855,956,963 to maintain its present military system as a preparation for future wars and expects to increase this sum to \$1,500,000,000. At the same time, we appropriated but \$481,744,726 for all other governmental activities. Our democracy, to which a dying world is looking hopefully for salvation, is annually expending 88 per cent of its total income for war and but 12 per cent for all of its constructive governmental activities! And of the 12 per cent only 1 per cent or \$57,093,663, is spent for *education* and *research*—the only hope of a maddened world. Who is responsible for this tragedy?

The world is suffering because of miseducation and for this we teachers are largely responsible. We have taught a jingo patriotism; we have glorified imperialism and tho we ignored the Metschnikoffs, the Edisons and the Bessemers of history, we found time to laud the deeds of generals, to speak eloquently for military training and to inculcate assiduously the silly and exploded doctrine of *preparedness*. While we extol the virtues of "preparedness" at one moment, in the next we teach that Sparta, a nation armed to the teeth, always ready for aggressive war, disappeared leaving no wholesome influence upon civilization; that Rome, the military camp of the ancient world whose legions dominated from Britain to the Tigris, crumbled under the onslaught of the Barbarian hordes. That Napoleon, the world's greatest military genius, failed miserably in his attempts to create a world military hegemony; and last, but not least, that Germany, heretofore prosperous and happy, growing by leaps and bounds, when animated by the philosophy of "preparedness," created the most efficient fighting machine the world has known and as a result, her people are now miserable and bankrupt, the objects of pity and charity.

The nations of the world now face the parting of the ways. They must decide whether they will travel the road to peace and a higher civilization or the road leading to war and the eclipse of civilization. The road to be taken depends



largely on the ability of the teachers to fulfill the duty they owe civilization. As teachers, we must not glorify war or gloss over its iniquities. We must not continue to mislead the children who look to us for truth and guidance. We must justify their faith in us by showing war in all its *horror* and *nakedness*. We must not, like Mr Fred M Hunter, Superintendent of Schools of Oakland, California, and President of the National Education Association, be guilty of glorifying *militarism* and of developing the military spirit in the youth of the land. Instead, we must tell the *truth about war*. Only the truth can free the world from the hideous nightmare of militarism and imperialism—the twin enemies of civilization. Since the National Education Association (if its president is its spokesman, as I believe he is) is guilty of developing the military spirit in the adolescent, since it is engaged in glorifying war, in encouraging universal military training and in preaching the philosophy of “preparedness,” since it has thus shown itself a traitor to America and its ideals, it devolves upon the union teachers of America and their organization—The American Federation of Teachers, to undertake the task of teaching the truth about war (and everything else for that matter), of so educating the workers and the children that they will see the futility of using aggressive force, violence or repression as weapons of progress. Tho I speak against war I ask you to enlist in a war on behalf of civilization by teaching the truth about war. Education alone can save our dying civilization and we teachers must not falter in the duty we owe to ourselves, to our organization, to our country and to civilization. May we have the courage to teach the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth!

#### PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1901-1920

If a study of the purchasing power of salaries is carried back to 1901, the shrinkage and deficiency of salaries indicates in the lower figure, page 48, is still more striking.

The purchasing power of a salary of \$1,200 was equal in October, 1920, to 400 “1901” dollars based on retail food prices. The 1920 equivalent of a salary of \$1,200 in 1901 was \$3,600.

#### THE PUBLICITY WORK OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

JOSEPHINE COLBY

*Field Secretary, A F of T*

When the facts about the American Federation of Teachers are presented where they can have a fair hearing, the result is that the American Federation of Teachers makes friends. The making of friends for the American Federation of Teachers is of course the purpose of the publicity campaign. Nation-wide publicity is a problem different from that of publicity for a school system in a single big city; in a given city the news stories released go straight to the public concerned. The work of a publicity director for a national movement is different, in that the news stories released from a given center will be printed in some towns and rejected in others; the aim cannot be as definite, nor can the results be measured with anything like the same accuracy.

The means most likely to avail us in our nation-wide campaign are three:

1. The release of stories by the publicity agent from headquarters thru agencies like the Associated Press and United Press. Publicity prepared by the director and mailed out to the locals for release in the local press.
3. Articles written by outsiders and published in the periodical press.

The Publicity Bureau has used the national daily press to good advantage. The clipping service shows that the circulation has attained totals of over 5,000,000.

In checking up the extent of the returns from this Publicity Service, we need your help. Appoint a clipping committee. Send us all clippings about the A F of T.

The second means of publicity requires a local committee to place in the local press stories prepared and sent out from Chicago. These stories will be mailed direct to your press chairman.

The third means of publicity,—that of reaching and interesting editors and other capable writers who are not union members, has been a most promising feature of the work of the publicity director. One result of the publicity campaign will be a better team-work between the locals and the National Headquarters.

# Report of the President to the Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

CHARLES B STILLMAN

*President, The American Federation of Teachers*

Our last convention was termed a Reconstruction Convention. It was foreseen then, and has now been all too convincingly demonstrated, that our conventions for many years to come will be Reconstruction Conventions. For the problems facing us have increased in complexity and urgency, and upon the method and spirit of their solution depends even more of progress or disaster for our country. Again, questions of fundamental purpose of internal organization, of formulation and carrying out of policy, of meeting misrepresentation, of genuine Americanization, of awakening in the mass of the teachers and of the public a keen consciousness of the progressive deterioration of our schools, and of the indispensable drastic remedies, of practical procedure in rendering maximum service to the community—questions which will have a determining influence on the future of our organization, the effectiveness of our schools, and the quality of American citizenship, will test to the utmost the intelligence and public spirit of the delegates to this convention. In this continuing emergency we can look forward with confidence to the deliberations of this national delegate body of classroom teachers.

The past year of extreme reaction has been a testing time for all liberal and democratic movements. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer has shown many setbacks but also many substantial victories, and the chartering of half a hundred new locals. In the face of concentrated and unscrupulous opposition from the reactionaries within and without school circles, during a period of post-war moral and social depression, the American Federation of Teachers has held its own surprisingly well. And our influence has extended far beyond our membership. In hundreds of communities one of the influences behind the granting of increases in teachers' salaries has been what to many misinformed or unprogressive school authorities has seemed the specter of possible affiliation of their teachers with our move-

ment. And more important than that, even during this period of the temporary eclipse of the idealism of democracy, in teachers' organizations controlled by school administrators, the old line superintendents have been compelled at least to yield a surface semblance of democracy, as the price of retaining the realities of control. Our direct achievements have been noteworthy, but the more indirect effect on school policies of our forward-looking program vitalized by a functioning national organization has been even greater, both thru its restraining influence on those accustomed to arbitrary authority, and thru the favorable atmosphere for progress it creates.

It would be superfluous, if not impertinent, for me to recount the history of our victories of the past year, when we have the delegates here to give us the inspiration of their first-hand experiences. It is misleading to select a few locals for special mention, since the smaller locals, and those which have been working more quietly but no less effectively, often have the most profitable suggestions. But those who have been following the Secretary's Bulletins, and THE AMERICAN TEACHER will insist on hearing more from San Francisco, Fresno, New Orleans, Memphis, Atlanta, New York, Gary, Chicago and St Paul among others. This exchange of experiences, of problems and methods of attack, will be a valuable part of our convention, and all delegates are hereby warned that they may be called on whenever opportunity offers. This applies with equal force to the delegates from locals which may have been less successful. We must analyze our mistakes and defeats as well as our successes, and learn to capitalize our varied collective experience.

## **The Smith-Towner Bill**

Support for the Smith-Towner Bill has grown stronger, and opposition has also crystallized. The opposition seems to center chiefly in the private school interests, altho private schools would be in



no way affected by the measure, except as the financial strengthening of the public schools by federal and state appropriations made them more efficient, and thus made their fair competition more difficult for private schools to meet. There is much sincere opposition based on a wholesome fear of possible bureaucracy. If the American Federation of Teachers had not been convinced that effective safeguards against the dangers of bureaucracy had been provided in the measure, both the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor would certainly have withheld their cooperation. Both organizations have had intimate experience with the evils of bureaucracy. If the present section guaranteeing absolute state and local autonomy in education is not deemed sufficient, any provisions making it still stronger and clearer, I am very sure, would be acceptable to the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor, and I am confident also to Secretary Magill, in charge of the bill, for the National Education Association.

Constructive legislation of this magnitude and character always stands a poor chance for consideration during the short sessions of Congress, crowded with appropriation and other routine matters. The political situation also makes it unlikely that this matter will come to a decision before the next administration takes office. Because of Senator Harding's response to a presentation of the educational situation to him at Marion last September by a group of teachers representing the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, the Illinois State Teachers' Association, and Chicago teachers' organizations, we can expect a forceful presentation to Congress of the needs of the schools of the nation by the incoming President, and a continuing active interest in the educational crisis. This convention will be interested in knowing that the delegation of teachers included Directors McCoy and Tanner of our Better Schools Service, who were the leaders, and responsible for the idea and its successful working out, the Secretary-Treasurer and President of the A F of T, and Miss Allen and Miss McCoy, President and Vice-President of Local 3.

### Standards of Admission

The question of standards of admission to membership has not arisen so far, chiefly because our movement has appealed to the best and most progressive elements among teachers, and partly because the various states provide their own laws governing the certification of teachers, and while trying to raise those legal qualifications, we have never considered it our function to go behind them, nor has any other state or national teachers' organization. But the present wholesale lowering of standards of certification, and granting of emergency certificates, may make it wise to give careful consideration to that question. Membership in the A F of T must continue to mean qualified teachers, no matter how slack some states and communities may become. Where so much depends on personality, arbitrary standards are peculiarly dangerous and difficult to fix. Whether we should fix two years of training beyond the high school as a temporary minimum requirement, looking toward four years as teacher training facilities are developed, and the public is educated to demand and pay for expert service where society most needs it, or whether we continue to use all of our influence for higher standards without attempting to impose hard and fast rules, is a matter for the discussion and decision of the convention.

### Tenure

There is little need to emphasize to this convention the importance of tenure. We all know how essential it is to the establishment and maintenance of professional standards. It is called particularly to your attention now not only because of the arbitrary dismissal of competent teachers by various autocratic boards of education, but also because of the evident intention of certain school authorities to weaken if possible some of the few tenure provisions now in existence.

An interesting example of the awakening of the public to the mockery of some of the present provisions is found in Buffalo. There the officers of the Teachers' Educational League are suspended and under trial for issuing a pamphlet in self-defense which sharply criticizes many phases of the school system. The board of education is hearing the cases, and public interest

has been so great that they have been compelled to hold their sessions in the court room of the criminal section of the Supreme Court to accommodate the audience. This brought into high relief the contrast in so-called judicial procedure. The Buffalo newspapers commented forcibly on the fact that the prosecutor who brought the charges, the jury, and the judge, were all sitting on the bench in the persons of the board of education. All the phases of the Buffalo hearings reveal conditions still undreamed of by the mass of the public, and we will have the opportunity to hear the story directly from the delegates of the Buffalo Teachers' Educational League, Local 182. We are indeed glad to welcome Buffalo our youngest local in point of affiliation, but a veteran organization with many victories on behalf of the schools to its credit.

A discussion of the Thanksgiving session of the Eastern Conferences of the A F of T brought out a point that is too often overlooked. Workers in many commercial and technical lines, such as the various kinds of engineering, can often make themselves indispensable by sheer ability, and thus solve their tenure problem. But it is easy for autocratic school authorities summarily to drop teachers of the highest efficiency and substitute inferior teachers without an outcry, unless the teachers themselves are strongly enough organized to protest, because the economic and social loss resulting from inferior teaching may not be apparent for many years, while the results of inferior engineering are immediately and unmistakably reflected in balance sheets. As a nation we must learn to draw social balance sheets, to evaluate the finding and to be guided by them.

#### **Our Territorial Locals**

Our locals in the Canal Zone and Hawaii, who cannot send delegates because of the distance, deserve special mention here. They are facing serious problems, and since they depend on Congressional action, we can all be of direct service to them. Their situation will be reported in detail by the proper committee. The power of the great planters of Hawaii complicates the problem there. Is the Canal Zone, the government has failed to keep its promise to maintain a schedule 25 per cent in advance of that prevailing in Wash-

ington, and the teachers are met with the old cries of no funds, and teachers can be secured more cheaply. If the teachers in the states understood the conditions in the Canal Zone, the last excuse would be even less true than it is now, and increased appropriations by Congress is the answer to the first. In both of these directions the American Federation of Teachers must assist its distant locals.

#### **Progress in Lancaster**

If any delegates are inclined to be cynical concerning the possibility of progress, if the disillusionment of the last year or two has been too much for native optimism and balance, a quotation from the November number of "Educational Issues" may be timely. A discussion of academic freedom is concluded thus:

"Some members of Boards of Education and university trustees are no more fortunate in their vision than was the Board of Education in Lancaster, Ohio, in the year of 1829, when a local debating society asked for the privilege of using the schoolhouse for public discussions. The members of the Board, considering themselves the guardians of liberty and the 'true' Christian faith, replied as follows: 'You are welcome to use the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the Word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by stearn, He would have clearly foretold it thru His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to Hell.'"

To give pause to the most confirmed pessimist I need only add that a local of the A F of T has been flourishing in the same Lancaster, Ohio, for two years. And if the Board of Education of Lancaster, Pa., is cited as an example of the persistence of the same medieval spirit, surely the inspiring stand of the Lancaster teachers is a more than adequate offset.

#### **Better Schools Service**

During the past year something has been done for the schools. And there is grave danger that the public will be lulled by these palliative half-measures, and sink back into indifference. But



only a start has been made. Commissioner Claxton reports a demand for over a hundred thousand more trained teachers than the normal schools and colleges can supply, not including the great mass of untrained among those new teaching. A large proportion of school children are now under so-called teachers, who have little better than an eighth grade training and not always that. It is not necessary to add the scores of thousands of children who either are denied all school opportunities, or on a half-time basis because of shortage of teachers, to reveal the terrific indictment of the American peoples' lack of intelligent and effective interest in the childhood and future citizenship of our country.

There is no simple solution of this complex problem. One essential step is drastic increase and equitable distribution of school revenues. Salaries have been increased in number of dollars, but in purchasing power they are still far below even the wretched pre-war levels. As already mentioned, of at least equal importance is legislation insuring security of tenure based on professional efficiency. The great mass of teachers are now dependent on the caprice and favor of official superiors, who in turn, under our humiliating present system, all too often are subjected to selfish political and personal influences. Tenure protection, properly safeguarded against abuse, and the establishment of self-respecting and efficient teaching conditions, are indispensable to the creation and maintenance of high professional standards. Only by frankly and adequately meeting this situation can strong teachers with invaluable training and experience be retained in the schools for the service of the public, and can young men and women of superior personality and ability be induced to prepare for such service.

Because of the urgency and complexity of these problems, the Executive Council established our Better Schools Service. You are already familiar with some of the work of Directors McCoy and Tanner. A printed report of one investigation is in your hands. Additional reports will be presented to the convention. But much of the most effective work is necessarily of a nature that cannot well be presented. These

men, already overloaded with the bulk of the work of the Chicago Schools Committee in addition to their school work, have largely overcome a grievous handicap of lack of funds, by unstinted sacrifice of time and energy, including summer vacation and every personal consideration. And it is only simple justice to add that in return for this sacrifice and service, we have so far not been able to make any compensation. It is my earnest conviction that this convention should find ways and means to place the Better Schools Service and its Directors on an efficient and self-respecting basis.

#### Americanization

Another problem which must be faced immediately is the working out of a constructive and practical program of Americanization in the real sense of that much abused term. For children and adults, native and foreign born, this is an educational problem and the success or failure of any solution will depend largely on the classroom teachers. Since the American Federation of Teachers is the national organization of classroom teachers, this convention is peculiarly under obligation to devote itself to that question. The Directors of the Better Schools Service have prepared a statement which has been approved by the Executive Council and will be submitted to you. The convention should both adopt policies and point the way to their application.

#### Publicity

The reports of the Secretary-Treasurer and of the Better Schools Service have stressed publicity, and presumably every committee reporting to this convention will dwell on publicity as our key activity. It is becoming a commonplace that the fate of our schools depends on an educated and aroused public opinion. But hitherto efforts to reach the public have been spasmodic. And the public is notoriously lethargic and forgetful. One reason for the present wave of reaction which is as potent as post-war lassitude, is the fact that the profiteers and patrioteers, the self-styled open-shoppers, and destructionists of every type, have employed expert publicity service, while labor, and liberal and progressive movements in general have neglected that all-important field. The re-

sult is that the press finds an unlimited quantity of expertly prepared material ready to its hand on the reactionary side, and often can get only scant material on the constructive side even by much effort. I realize that this is only one angle, and leaves the question of bias entirely out of account, but liberals owe it to their cause to see that the path of least resistance for the press is not the backward path, and that obligations should be felt by our organization with special force. The only effective answer to ignorance, indifference, and misrepresentation is driving home to the mass of the teachers and the public, the needs of the schools, and the constructive purposes, methods and accomplishments of our movement.

And this means one thing, publicity. The Chicago teachers found and still find an expert publicity service indispensable. The intimate connection which Directors McCoy and Tanner have established with that service has been of very great value to our movement. But again finance is a problem. But I believe that this convention will give its best thought to the solution of a problem, upon which in a very real sense all others depend.

#### Unity of Purpose

The American Federation of Teachers has one objective—the establishment and maintenance of a public school system which will give every child the opportunity to develop his full abilities under competent instruction and to prepare for a complete life, are effective citizenship in a democracy. All teachers sharing that high social ideal should be enlisted for the duration of the struggle. And particularly at this critical time, we must do our best to prevent any alienation thru the intrusion of extraneous issues, whether religious, economic, or political. Not for one moment that we have any monopoly of worth while purpose and activities; there are many other vital issues, but there are also other organizations to handle them. We have dedicated ourselves to the reconstruction of our educational system to meet the ideal of our motto. And we know that many undemocratic forces are attempting to control the development of educational policies. Only a determined unity of purpose and action will save our schools, and make them the basis and agency of democracy.

#### THE TEACHER SITUATION

*From Reports by Those Who Know*

An impression prevails that the teacher shortage thruout the United States is no longer a serious problem. Recent reports received from county and district superintendents in every State clearly indicate that such a conclusion is erroneous. While the average condition is slightly better than last year, due to marked improvement in States where salaries have been greatly increased, the general situation remains practically unchanged. The number of schools without teachers and the still larger number taught by incompetent teachers show that a very serious situation still exists, particularly in those States where salaries are lowest.

On September 1, 1920, the National Education Association sent a letter to every county and district superintendent of schools in the United States, enclosing a return postal card upon which were asked ten questions regarding the teacher situation in their respective counties. The following is a tabulation of the replies received to three of the questions asked: (1) The number of teaching positions in the country or district covered by the report; (2) the shortage of teachers at the opening of school in September, 1920; (3) the number of teachers below standard whom it had been necessary to accept in order to keep as many schools as possible open. The standard referred to is, of course, the minimum for the given county or district, and teachers below standard are admittedly incompetent. The real shortage is, therefore, the sum of the actual shortage and the number of teachers below standard.

Inquiries were sent to 3,468 superintendents and 1,492 replies had been received at the time this tabulation was made, October 12. Every report is signed by the county or district superintendent making it, and the information is, therefore, the most reliable that can be obtained. The figures given in the first five columns are taken directly from the signed reports. The "estimated shortage and below standard" given in the last column is based on the assumption that the unreported counties of a State would show conditions the same as those reported.

Unquestionably the greatest educational problem before the American people is the securing of competent, well-trained teachers for every teaching position in training beyond a four-year high school course is the generally accepted minimum standard for teachers. The replies of county and district superintendents to the question, "What per cent. of your teachers have had two years or more of training beyond high schools," show that in only a few States have one-half the teachers had that amount of training, and that in a large majority of the States less than one-half have had that much. Some superintendents report as few as ten per cent. of their teachers having attained that standard.

The drive should be for a competent, well-trained teacher for every boy and girl in America. Until this shall have been accomplished, approximately, it cannot be said that the teacher situation is not a serious problem.

—From N. E. A. Press Service.



# Should Teachers Unionize?

GLENN FRANK

*Editor, The Century Magazine*

This article is reprinted with the consent of the author. It is the view of *The American Teacher* that criticism of the level of this article should be welcomed by every member of the national organization. When you have read the article, and especially when you have thought it over carefully, for Mr. Frank himself has written thoughtfully, write to the author and give him your own reaction to the big question he has raised. If you don't write, *The Century Magazine* will think you don't care. We ourselves have the practical problem to solve. Shall we continue to try for industrial democracy thru the American Federation of Labor, or thru, for example, the National Education Association? Thru which are we more likely to obtain results? If not thru either, what then? Responses for publication will be welcomed by *The American Teacher*.

THE EDITORS.

Should teachers organize themselves into unions and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor? This question is to the fore wherever alert teachers assemble. The difficulty of arriving at any effective consensus of opinion among teachers is due to the fact that the discussions of the problem have to date failed to deal with the realities of the problem.

Nine-tenths of the written and spoken discussions of this issue are confined to the imperative urge to unionization implied in the glaring needs of teachers in matters of finance and freedom. The nation-wide debate on this problem has revealed a regrettably uncritical attitude toward the method proposed—trade-unionism. With only a few heartening exceptions, those who advocate the complete unionization of the teaching profession have frankly accepted trade-unionism as the best immediately practical approach to the problem of industrial and professional relations. It is true, of course, that many teachers, with an almost senatorial attitude of mind, have qualified the proposal of unionization with many reservations, promises that teacher will not strike as teamsters strike, and so on; but as far as the practical effect of the agitation is concerned, it registers approval of trade-unionism.

Even those who oppose the unionization of teachers have, in the main, opposed it upon the hopelessly unreal grounds of professional dignity and a supposedly desirable, but actually undesirable, neutrality of teachers on all social and economic matters. I have looked in vain through the current literature of this agitation for any *general* recognition of the question that is in the foreground of all fundamental thinking on the modern industrial problem. The question that is challenging all students of modern industry, the question that every teacher should ask and attempt to answer before advocating or denounc-

ing the unionization of teachers represented by the American Federation of Labor be a passing phase in the evolution of industrial relation?

My own belief is that trade-unionism, a goodly measure of which will always be necessary, has about outlived its usefulness as the *dominant* factor in the struggle for better industrial and professional relations. I am convinced that teachers are today contemplating alliance with a type of labor organization that enlightened labor will in time scrap in the interest of more statesmanlike organizations and more effective methods. Teachers who today unionize as trade-unions and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor may later discover that the movement that seemed a band-wagon proved a hearse.

When a penman indulges in such dogmatism, the common decencies of discussion demand that he place his cards on the table and frankly state the grounds of his opinion. Do not jump hastily to a conclusion. This is not the introduction to a reactionary tirade against organized labor, in the social usefulness and imperative necessity of which I ardently believe, as the reader will later see. Why, then, this cocksure statement that it would be a mistake for American teachers to unionize and affiliate with the American Federation?

Many opponents of such a move fear that affiliation with the American Federation of Labor would tend to turn teachers into radicals. I do not share this fear. My objection to such an affiliation is not that the American Federation of Labor is too radical, but that it is too conservative. By radical, of course, is here meant the habit of going to the root of a problem, not the popular perversion of the word which makes it mean the habit of making trouble for trouble's sake. The American Federation of Labor has done, is doing, and will continue to do an immense service for

the workers of the United States in improving their economic status; but the plain fact is that the federation is contributing nothing to the industrial thought of the time. It is in the rear rather than in the vanguard of industrial statesmanship.

But let us look a little more closely into the alternatives the teachers face. Negative criticism of this sort is always a challenge to constructive suggestion. Let us accept the challenge.

Broadly speaking, there are only two practically possible ideals battling for control of industrial relations. These two ideals are militant trade-unionism and industrial democracy. Between these two there is no half-way house that will afford more than transient shelter. In between there is only a medley of palliatives, temporizings, and opportunisms. Teachers, with their growing class-consciousness, must frankly choose between these two—militant trade-unionism or industrial democracy. Teachers must decide definitely whether they are to regard industrial and professional relations as a problem of warfare between competing groups or as a problem of representative government by cooperating groups.

A frank choice of either can be respected and can be made productive of good in the correction of certain immediate abuses, but anything less than a whole-hearted going over to one side or the other can, in my judgment, produce nothing but confusion and ineffective antagonisms.

For instance, what point can there be to a half-hearted unionization of teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but *foregoing the right to strike*? This is the proposal we hear on every hand. But teachers' unions stand to lose more than they will gain thru affiliation with the American Federation of Labor unless they frankly join the ranks of militant trade-unionism and go the whole way on collective bargaining and striking. Such non-striking unions will sooner or later degenerate into the same sort of organizations as the old teachers' associations, which have signally failed to create professional solidarity, achieve for the mass of teachers better working conditions, or materially improve their economic status. Such unions will still be armed only with the weapons of moral suasion. And

the grand adventure of exerting moral suasion is not enough to create and sustain an effective teachers' organization.

A teachers' organization must possess some more concrete power to wield if it is to be more than an amiable sewing circle passing pretty, but powerless, resolutions. There are only two practically possible ways of their exercising such power: one way is by adopting the tactics of collective bargaining and striking; the other way is by teachers becoming responsible parts of a national educational system organized on the basis of representative government, by creating and administering an educational democracy to match the industrial democracy that is coming with all the inevitableness of a glacier or the march of the stars.

Again, do not jump hastily to a conclusion. I am raising none of the objections frequently made to the American Federation of Teachers and its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Certain opponents of the American Federation of Teachers raise holy hands in horror at the prospect of its meaning class domination of the schools. But we already have class domination of the schools. It is the class now dominating the schools that is raising the bogey of labor domination. We should probably have quite as good educational policies under the dictation of Samuel Gompers as under the dictation of some local street-car magnate whose major interest is in seeing the school system a sort of institutional pæan to the God of Things as They Are. We should probably get quite as good results from the honest, human, amateur counsel of a labor leader as from the counsel of the occasional drab-minded, reactionary, visionless business or professional man who—say it softly—serves on our boards of education.

Other opponents of the American Federation of Teachers argue sophistically, like thirteenth-century theologians, that teachers have no business flirting with organized labor, because teachers are not employees because they receive salary instead of wages. The American Federation of Teachers can, at least, charge this group of opponents with an atrophied sense of humor. Perhaps the teacher enjoys a little greater sense of security as to



tenure of employment than does the day laborer, but in every other sense the teacher's problem is very much the laborer's problem. The teacher is less like the lawyer or physician with his fees than like the day laborer with his wages. And who can say that the average teacher's stability of tenure is not less than the stability of tenure enjoyed by the average employee of an established business firm?

Still others affect to believe, or at least to assert, that, if teachers join the ranks of organized labor, freedom of teaching will be destroyed and teachers will become the terrified slaves of labor leaders and the enforced purveyors of labor propaganda. Heaven knows there is little enough freedom of teaching now. The history of American education, from public schools to graduate cloisters, is checkered over with instances of sinister censorship. Even in this late day of enlightenment, in certain universities, if a teacher thinks a thought of a later vintage than 1776, he must do it with a weather eye on the watchful trustees of dead men's estates. No sane person desires any form of organized censorship over the teaching mind of the nation. But the disinterested student of American schools refuses to grow disturbed over the menace of labor influence on the liberty of teaching. If labor had some access to the inner circles of our schools, it might inject into the situation a wholesome corrective to the dangerous dominance of boards and benefactors.

None of these objections are, in my judgment, valid. The one fundamental objection to throwing the teaching profession into the ranks of American organized labor is based not upon what the American organized labor might do, but upon what American organized labor *is*. American organized labor is militant trade-unionism, a fighting organization without a philosophy other than the philosophy of the battle-field.

Trade-unionism has been, and still is, necessary; but it is an opportunist and transitional movement on the road to an ultimate organization of industrial relations upon the basis of representative government in industry. If I were a day laborer instead of a desk slave chained to a typewriter, I would belong to a union. But trade-

unionism is not a solution of the labor problem. Trade-unionism is industrial militarism. The one worthy goal of an industrial civilization is industrial government on a democratic basis. To reach this goal, we must have industrial statesmanship in addition to trade-union strategy.

Somebody whispers that this is the counsel of perfection. In a sense it is. The plain fact is that the industrial world is not ready for industrial democracy. Democracy, even in politics, cannot reach a high efficiency without something approaching a homogeneous people, a high level of average intelligence, and a general willingness on the part of all to accept responsibility. These factors are even more vitally necessary to the success of industrial democracy. Let us honestly admit that these raw materials of democracy cannot be found thruout the labor force of many industries. The adventure toward the democratization of industry must be made with vast patience and ceaseless education.

But—and here's the nub of the matter—these essentials of democracy exist in the teaching profession. Democratic government will work in the average school, although it might not yet work in the average industry. The teachers of America have the opportunity to blaze a new trail for American labor instead of blindly copying the past methods of American labor. The teachers of America can give us the first dramatic nationwide example of a "labor force" democratically administering their common interests. They can set the standard of achievement for American labor. Will they do it?

Nobody cherishes the idea of teachers striking, but the gain might be worth the gamble if every teacher in the United States joined in a "general strike" of educators and refused to "take up school" until there had been effected an agreement on the complete reorganization of the American school system on the basis of representative democratic government.

I offer no detailed blue-prints of an educational democracy, but we shall linger in the dark ages of education until representatives of the rank and file of teachers sit on all boards that decide questions of educational policy, of teachers' salaries,

working conditions, and the like. The personnel of many boards of education in American cities is a sad commentary upon the educational vision of our country. A few weeks ago I told an audience of three thousand teachers about a little Missouri village in which the board of education had two members who could neither read nor write. Three thousand teachers laughed. Yet it is possible to find on boards of education in big American cities men who, relatively, are as little fitted by temperament, training, and vision to settle the educational policies of a great city. Educational policy and the major part of educational administration must ultimately rest in the hands of teachers if our educational system is to give a square deal to its servants and render an effective ministry to the mind of the nation.

Then, too, the school-room itself must be democratized. The average American school-room is a little autocracy presided over by an educational kaiser or kaiserin. We are trying to teach the meaning of Americanism with the methods of Prussianism. We are constantly dinning into the ears of students that the essence of American democracy is self-government, and from kindergarten to university we rarely give them the chance to practise self-government.

This, then, is the challenge to the teachers of America: give to American labor a dramatic illustration of what its next achievement must be—industrial democracy. If the educational intelligence of America is not sensitive enough to see or courageous enough to accept this challenge, then I for one am heart and soul in favor of every American teacher's joining the American Federation of Teachers and demanding that the organization, for the time being at least, go the way of trade-unionism instead of temporizing in a make-believe union that frowns at bad conditions, but may not strike. For anything is better than allowing the present penurious policy of the nation toward its teachers to persist.

But, let it be said again, it is not low pay alone or primarily that is causing the exodus from the teaching profession. The myth of dignity has been blasted. As President Davis, of Hunter College, has said: "The claim that teaching is more refined, has shorter hours, involves less

strain than office work is pretty well exploded." The necessity of self-support is causing teachers to demand better pay, but self-respect is causing them to demand self-government. This is the next step.—*From the Century Magazine for February, 1921.*

#### WEARING A MASK OF PATRIOTISM

When William H. Barr, President of the National Founders' Association, describes the progress of the open-shop campaign as "a stimulant to the patriotism of every one," he is dealing in snivelling hypocrisy at a time when honesty and frankness in all economic matters were never more necessary.

The champions of the open shop are not actuated by any patriotic impulse whatever. They believe that the open shop is more profitable to themselves than the closed shop and that to destroy the unions would put money in their pockets. That is all there is to the controversy. The open-shop advocates wear a mask of patriotism because they are afraid to meet the economic issue.

A Nation-wide campaign has been inaugurated against organized labor. The plans were all laid during the Presidential contest, and the Harding majority was interpreted as evidence that public opinion has swung wholly to the side of reaction. Associations of manufacturers and their professional walking delegates have been boasting that the Harding Administration would be an open-shop Administration, and, curiously enough, union labor helped to furnish the votes that provided the Harding majority.

The organized employer advocates of the open shop are not concerned at all with principle, however vociferously they profess to be. What they want is a labor market in which they can dictate wages, hours of employment and working conditions, regardless of the social consequences of such economic tyranny. They want to treat labor as part of the raw materials of their factories, to be bought at their own price and used as they see fit. That is all there is to the organized campaign in behalf of the open shop, which increases in confidence as industrial conditions become more unsettled.

The attitude of its advocates is well illustrated by further remarks of the President of the National Founders' Association when he demanded the "complete elimination" of the labor clauses from the covenant of the League of Nations. As it happens, these clauses are not part of the covenant; they are part of the treaty of peace, and they represent the most enlightened thought of the world in regard to the international relations of labor. Nothing could better define the real aims of the open-shop propaganda than its avowed antagonism to the labor section of the Treaty of Versailles.

An organized and well-financed open-shop campaign can create a great deal of industrial trouble in the United States and add immeasurably to the difficulties of reconstruction, but it will never succeed except by wrecking the industrial fabric of the country, because there is no real honesty and sincerity back of it. There is nothing back of it but greed and sordidness, and in the long run greed and sordidness cannot dictate the economic policies of the American people.—Editorial in New York *World* of November 18, 1920.



## THE MODERN HEALTH CRUSADE AS A PART OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

ELIZABETH COLE

*Assistant Publicity Secretary, National Tuberculosis Association*

When attempts have been made to introduce the Modern Health Crusade into certain schools, teachers have argued oftentimes that the days already are so crowded with work that there is no time to devote to a new movement. This article aims to convince any "doubting Thomas" (or Jane) that the few minutes taken out of the daily schedule to check up chores is more than made up during the day by wide-awake enthusiastic pupils. It aims to show, also, how the Crusade may be worked in as a background to make more vitally interesting many branches of study besides Hygiene and Physiology.

Ten minutes in the morning is the time allowed by most teachers for inspection and for Health Chore checking. These duties may be managed by certain boys and girls who have been chosen honorarily for the purpose. During this period inspection of floors, of ventilation and regulation of temperature may be made by a boy or girl who is known as a "health officer." Captains and heralds, also chosen from the children, have the honor of going about the room inspecting for cleanliness of person, tidy hair and neat clothes. Such horrors as unclean nails or dirt behind-the-ears are most relentlessly criticized. As can be imagined children's bright eyes are only too vigilant in searching out such details. Their "quality of mercy" is neither strained nor restrained when it comes to taking a fellow student to task. There simply is no mercy! All this becomes routine work and often takes even less than ten minutes.

Eight schools in the South where health officers and inspectors were elected have shown such marked changes in schoolroom appearance that it was a pleasure to visit there. A tiny piece of scrap paper on the floor is now a disgrace, dirty inkwells unpardonable, and as for sharpening pencils on the floor, that act is a positive crime. The neatly dressed children with their clean, bright faces that beam with satisfaction upon being complimented for their successes are a joy

to see. This is *their* schoolroom. *They* are responsible for its attractiveness. Give a child definite responsibility and he will take it generally with more seriousness than most grown-ups. Leave him alone in carrying out that responsibility and he not only will admire you for your confidence in him, but alas have twice the enthusiasm over his important duty.

The Crusade was started primarily to teach Health habits and was associated most specifically with Hygiene and Physiology lessons. It was not doubted from the first that the actual results of textbook teachings of Health would be more effective with Health Crusade methods. The way in which the Crusade has amplified and served as a background for other courses, however, has been truly amazing.

For example, Reading lessons have become more dramatic affairs since the introduction of plays and pageants, based on Health Knights and fairies, has aroused the imagination. Moreover, an interest in reading legends, folk lore and tales of knighthood has been keener and more pertinent. For Arithmetic problems the populations of neighboring cities or towns may be worked out in relation to the numbers of public health officers or public nurses. The proportions and computation of chores by the week, month, by the row, room or school, all make problems. Of course Spelling and Penmanship use respectively, health words and sentences. Domestic Science, naturally, is aided in manifold ways by the questions of diet, sanitation and food values which arise and relate this subject to good health habits.

In Civics the conditions of the home town or city make a special appeal to students who are eager for the best Health conditions. In Chemistry, milk is tested. In Biology, the prolific habits and rapid development of the germ-laden fly are searched out. Knowledge of this sort is practical and helps to make better informed citizens. It trains for more intelligent, interested voters and office-holders.

The school schedule may be considered as a chain, the links of which are the subjects studied. It is a chain of Education plus Health. The two go hand in hand in the days that prepare our boys and girls for the business of life. In school days

habits are formed which later will govern the daily curriculum of life. The Habit of Health should certainly be present. More depends on training in this than in knowing the "three Rs." For what profiteth it a man if he have encyclopedic knowledge if he have not health?

The Modern Health Crusade should have a place in every schools' curriculum. It is not a separate movement. It is a practical link that holds together the chain of Education.

#### SCHOOL SURVEYS BY TEACHERS

Viewed as a piece of scientific work the projected study of school administration in New York City by Henry R Linville and the Teachers' Union may or may not be important, but it will apparently have value as a contribution to ideals of school management in New York in the year 1921. The proposed study has already called forth from the board of superintendents a report dealing largely with the personal qualities of Dr Linville which will doubtless serve that gentleman as Exhibit A in his inquiry.

It is a pity that prejudice should apparently blind members of the board to the possibilities of a study of the school system by members of the rank and file of the teachers—especially by teachers who are non-conformist enough not to feel under the necessity of saying only pleasant things about the system. At worst such a study might be a harmless means of working off surplus energy. At best it may be a genuine contribution to the really meagre store of knowledge in the field of democracy in education.

There have been plenty of school surveys in recent years, some of them of compelling interest and value, but studies by teachers themselves of the school system as it affects directly the teacher and the pupil have been rare. We are accustomed to say "the teacher is the school," and then promptly forget it, as far as any true effort to get at the teacher's point of view is concerned.

That the teachers have a point of view on matters of educational policy, quite apart from the bread and butter considerations to which they have had to give disproportionate attention in recent years, is clear to any who will take the trouble to see. Officials of the United States Bureau of Education who last year made a study of the schools of Washington, D C, were strongly impressed with the culture and idealism of the Washington teaching force. As far as the Washington schools were concerned, the Bureau investigators were certain that the best hope of progress lay in the teachers themselves.

It is not merely the reiterated personal attack on an individual teacher that makes one who reads the superintendents' report on the Linville case feel uncomfortable about the quality of leadership in the New York school system. The use of evidence in the report is even more disquieting. The committee condemns Dr Linville on the basis of detached sentences taken from contributed articles to the *American Teacher*, a reputable school journal which Dr Linville has had a part in editing. It would be just as fair to judge the New York Times by detached

quotations from its articles by H G Wells on Russia.

In other ways the school authorities show a disposition to put obstacles in the way of the teachers' study of the schools. But the public will be interested in any light they may throw on the problems of education in a democracy.—*From the New York Evening Post of January 19, 1921.*

#### TEACHER SURVEYS OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

The Teachers Union of New York is 'taxing' itself to have its agent spend a year surveying the needs of the schools.

Should the teaching corps of schools and colleges follow or avoid this example?

Even among readers of Public Service are probably some who would say that whether or not teachers should survey depends upon the motive and the ability of the surveyors.

New York City's board of superintendents refused to encourage or countenance either survey or surveyor-in-chief proposed by the Teachers Union, and refused to grant its agent leave of absence without pay.

How do you personally and officially feel about a survey of your school by its teachers?

Just suppose New York City's officers had thanked the Teachers Union for its desire to get facts before agitating for changes. Suppose they had "cited" the proposal as an encouraging sign. Suppose they had said that they would even consider making it a condition of continuing in the system that teachers and principals make surveys of school needs, what a stimulus to big thinking and big acting it would have been!

What's the effect of their forcing the resignation of a teacher? Well, what is usually the effect of such action?

The published reasons for refusing leave of absence include these that the teachers' inquiry is unnecessary; that their agent has personal grievances; that he is not wellfitted and not competent by reason of his experience, temperament, associations and views of democracy to conduct such an investigation; that the proposal is really an attempt at a time of general unrest to sow the seeds of discord among teachers.

For sake of argument let's assume that the case is even worse than the superintendents report, and that the Teachers Union in the guise of a survey want to disrupt the school system and libel their officers—what better way was there to "smoke out" the truth than to give the requested leave of absence without pay? What harm could a putative, misvevor do to a whole school on leave of absence that he could not do if absent without leave or while teaching?

Teachers, please think this out: Is any person fit to teach American school children unfit to be allowed a year's leave of absence without pay to survey any blessed thing he wants to survey up to his nearest or remotest superior officer?

If there is unrest among teachers the question of educational statesmanship is not how many frankly avow or secretly suppress it, but what basis there is for it even where teachers themselves have not yet felt it. So far as there is any basis, libelling excellencies need do no harm, nor will denying evils and discouraging surveys keep the evils from growing.

\* \* \* \* \*

*From the Bulletin of the Institute for Public Service.*



# News From the Locals

## NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS NEWS COMMITTEE

Local 2, Chicago—E B Collette and V O Graham

Local 3, Chicago—Dorothy Weil.

### CALIFORNIA NEWS NOTES

Sacramento—Teachers' Councils are more talked about now than any other feature of the movement towards DEMOCRACY in EDUCATION. In Sacramento, the teachers' council, comprising union and non-union teachers, drew up and carried into actual operation a salary schedule that puts Sacramento in the lead for California. In 1918 the high school maximum was \$1,618, today it is \$2,700. The maximum for grade schools is \$1,920. The teachers worked for their superintendents as well as for themselves. He received in 1918, \$3,600; now he gets \$5,400.

Why has the educational world not heard more of the Sacramento plan of democratic school administration? Are superintendents outside of Sacramento afraid to capitalize in an honest manner, the ability of the class-room teacher?

(Note: All but two of the high school teachers are members of Local No 31. The grade school teachers are well represented in Local No 44.)

San Francisco—Union teachers in San Francisco have effected the reorganization of the San Francisco school department, thru the passage of an amendment to the city charter. The amendment was proposed by a group comprising union teachers, drafted by the editor of *The Labor Clarion*, first endorsed by the Central Labor Council (and seconded by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce) and carried by a campaign in which union teachers were active. Speakers from the teachers' union appeared before every crafts union in the city and secured the labor vote. The proposition to reorganize the school department of San Francisco by amendment No 37 was endorsed by both universities thru their official representatives, and by heads of normal and other educational institutions. Thus was cooperation between scholarship and labor again proved effective. Local No 61 it is needless to say is on the map.

(Query: Why did the city superintendents of California in their annual convention resolve that "teachers should refrain from participation in any political campaign, national, State, or local?")

Santa Clara County—Even the opponents of Santa Clara County Local No 153 acknowledge that the increased tax voted by the county supervisors was due to the presentation of the case made by the teachers' union. Local No 153 is keeping alive in Santa Clara County the spirit that existed there twenty years ago, when a teachers' union was organized and served as a protest against the stifling of the progress of the schools of San José.

Fresno—In spite of the opposition of a school board which has no conception of the spirit of modern education, or perhaps partly because of the unintelligent character of that opposition, the Fresno locals are keeping up their earnest attempt to make of the Fresno school system a place where it will be safe for teachers to be active in the improvement of the schools. Local No 84 is making a study of the more important school surveys of the United States.

---

### Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

Do you think it would be of service to teachers' locals, if they would appoint some competent individuals from their roster to examine and purchase books on live subjects suitable for educating the average class-room teacher in educational democracy?

For some time it has seemed to me that the slow growth of our locals has been due in a large measure to the fact that the average teacher does not understand many of the principles of the A F T.

Could not such a committee purchase copies of articles which would tend to spread among teachers ideas on educational democracy?

THOMAS P KYLE,

Local 92, Paterson, New Jersey.

## NEW JERSEY NEWS

The teachers of Paterson, New Jersey, Local 92, A F of T, are much pleased with the appointment of Mr Joseph Manley a class-room teacher, and one of the charter members of Local 92, to a position on the Board of Examiners. Altho Paterson has had a Board of Examiners for examining candidates for teacher's licenses for over twenty years, there has never been a class-room teacher on the board. Its members were usually school principals.

Yet, who is so able to test the knowledge, and estimate the teaching ability of an applicant better than one who is daily teaching efficiently?

We believe that such appointments, so long as uncontrolled, are steps along the path of Democracy in Education.

## THE CHICAGO LOCALS

With the backing of organized labor the Chicago locals vigorously opposed the "Loeb Rule," passed in 1915 and aimed at destruction of effective teachers' organizations, and as a result obtained the tenure law which assures Chicago teachers a fair trial before dismissal from service. Naturally the organized teachers were very active in the campaign conducted a year ago for increase of salary. The Chicago school system was being jeopardized by the inadequate pay received by the teachers. Fortunately the Chicago locals did not find it necessary to undertake this campaign alone.

For years they have earnestly advocated teachers' councils. The Chicago High School Teachers' Council has been established and is working on a firm foundation for the welfare of the schools. There is a fixed determination that it shall be effective and permanent. Thru this Council all the high school teachers become supporters of more democratic and progressive activities. Needless to say it is not popular with principals. But "Democracy in Education" is steadily growing and more and more teachers are realizing that their responsibility extends much further than mere class-room activities. When the Council decided to take up the salary campaign last year the locals gladly cooperated and gave all possible assistance.

At the present time the Chicago teachers are engaged in a most important legislative campaign. House Bill 296 seeks to equalize Chicago with the rest of the State in regard to its tax rate for school support. House Bill 297 seeks to amend the township and community high school law making it possible for Chicago and other Illinois cities to levy and collect for high and continuation schools an additional rate beyond that now permitted for the support of all other schools, without requiring the division of administration between two boards of education, in other words giving the taxation benefit of a township high school system without creating a new municipality. Senate Bill 75 seeks to increase the State appropriation from six million to twenty million dollars in order to make it possible to maintain efficient schools thruout the State and to equalize educational opportunity in Illinois. The fourth bill seeks to secure for the State university, and the State normal school adequate support so that the work of training teachers may be efficiently done. These bills have been agreed upon by representatives of several political forces and of the Chicago Board of Education as well as by the Chicago Schools Committee representing the teachers. The campaign is in charge of the latter committee which was selected by the High School Teachers' Council. Of this committee Mr W T McCoy, President of Chicago Men No 2, is chairman. Before election almost every legislative measures backed by the teachers, relating to the needs in education.

The Federation members have been addressing various locals of organized labor thruout the city for the last two months on "The Condition of the Schools and Their Needs." They are also working hand in hand with other teacher groups, the State Teachers' Association and organized labor to see that the welfare of the schools is one of the first things to be considered. They are convinced that cooperation with other organizations is the most effective method. This fact has greatly increased interest in the locals because it is felt by them that they must not surrender the right of initiative or of decision. Cooperation implies organization. They feel that eternal vigilance is necessary. They are finding out that



the welfare of the educational system fundamentally rests in the hands of the class-room teachers. The task to which they are called is not an easy one. It involves years of hard work and continued effort, but it is well worth while. Thru it all there is increasing realization of the value of the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CLASS-ROOM TEACHERS.

---

In this issue you will notice a statement of the Educational Program at present being fought for in Illinois. We would like for publication statements concerning the educational programs of other states, and some account of the part locals are taking in the work. Send these to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer.

---

Accompanying a contribution of \$50.00 to the publicity campaign, Local No. 101 of the Superior State Normal School writes thru Miss Nona MacQuiklin, its treasurer, "As I look at the total of \$734 which you quoted in your letter of March first, and as I compare it with the huge sum we are in the habit of associating with advertising schemes, I am a bit disheartened till I remember the purity of our ideals and the courage and energy of our leaders: then faith that we will in time succeed returns."

---

Fulton County, Georgia—Charter No. 183 was issued to the Fulton County School Teachers' Association on February 22. Mr. Jere A Wells of Atlanta, Georgia, and Miss Lucy Johnson of Atlanta are respectively the president and secretary of the new organization which has become a part of our movement thru the efforts of Mr C E Phillips, Vice-President of the A F of T and President of the Atlanta Public School Teachers' Association No 89.

---

Madison, Wisconsin—A novel method of financing its share of the publicity work is being planned by Local 35 of Madison, Wisconsin, which proposes to give a number of card parties at fifty cents a place after it has secured as many personal pledges as possible. The officers elected for 1921 by No 35 are, President, Miss Katherine P Regan, who was a delegate to the St Paul

convention; Secretary, Miss Leta M Wilson, while Mr Leo Schleck was re-elected treasurer. An active membership campaign has been started by the local which the new president is confident will double its size within the year.

---

New Orleans, Louisiana—Miss Loretta Shook, a delegate to the St Paul convention, was unanimously elected president of New Orleans Local No 36 for the coming year at the January meeting, and Miss Ida M Coburn was re-elected secretary. Miss Shook succeeds Miss Augusta Aurianne, who after two years of very effective work as president withdrew to accept the first vice-presidency; the local constitution limiting to two consecutive years the term of any person in any one office.

---

Portland, Oregon—The Portland local maintained open house on the last day of the Oregon State Teachers' Association meeting in a room procured on the first floor of the Portland Hotel. Numbers of teachers, both local and out of town, dropped in.

---

Montana—Governor Dickson of Montana recently vetoed and effectively ended a bill providing for an oath of loyalty from all Montana teachers. The bill, which was originally adopted by an overwhelming majority of the legislature, was designed to slur the Montana teachers as disloyal for having decided at a recent meeting of the State Teachers' Association to take an active interest in community affairs.

This the teachers proposed to do by the issuance of "a series of pamphlets meant to acquaint the citizens of Montana with the laws under which they are governed, and by so doing to enhance the quality of their citizenship."

The offending pamphlet consisted of excerpts from the State Constitution of Montana!

---

Several locals are asking for information concerning the sliding scale for salaries. Methods of determining salaries in accordance with training, experience, etc, vary greatly thruout the country. If you can tell them of the basis of some of the locals or schools which have a sliding scale, address the Secretary-Treasurer.



Orders for quantities of the "Better-School Service Report" are coming in large numbers from organizations and individuals not even affiliated with the A F of T. The Teacher's Co-operative Council of Kansas City, Missouri, the Dayton School Masters' Club, the Chicago High School Teachers' Club, Mr O E Reynolds, professor of Education, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, are among those who have commented very favorably on the report and have bought it in large numbers.

#### SCHOOL BOARD DISCHARGES MISSES SHEA AND FOODY; OTHERS FOUND GUILTY; JOBS BACK IF THEY APOLOGIZE

Miss Agnes M Shea, local school teacher, and president of the Teachers' Educational League, and Miss Helen C Foody, also a teacher, and recording secretary of the league, were today found guilty of all counts of misconduct and insubordination by members of the board of education in session behind closed doors this noon, and were dismissed from the city's teaching force.

Miss Katharine Jordan, Miss Isabel M Lee, Miss Mary A Behan and Miss Catharine Cassidy, teachers and officers of the league, were found guilty, but not dismissed. These latter four will be given opportunity until March 1 to send their written apologies to the school board, whereupon, in event of sending apologies, they will be reinstated with back pay allowed to them, but dismissed in event of failure to send apologies.

The board was divided, three to two, in the case of the last four named.

Louis E Desbecker and George Zimmerman filed a dissenting memorandum regarding the last four named. Those two members of the school board held that the evidence did not show that the Misses Lee, Jordan, Cassidy and Behan individually sponsored the issue of the pamphlet and therefore the charges should be dismissed. Chairman Emerson, Mrs Wickser and Raymond Bissell voted to find the four guilty but to give them a chance.—From Buffalo (N Y) Newspapers.

They are all members of Local 182, A F of T. We understand there will be no apology.

#### PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1914-1920

The data presented on page 48, are based on "cost of living" studies undertaken by the National Industrial Conference Board.

This figure shows that the purchasing power of money salaries) in midyear of 1920 was only half as great as in 1914, corresponding to a shrinkage of 50 per cent. In order, therefore, that the standard of living of salaried employees be maintained at the same level as in 1914, it would have been necessary to increase salaries for the same services as rendered in 1914, 100 per cent.

#### PUBLICITY

The office of Miss Josephine Colby, Field Secretary and Vice-President of the A F of T is a very busy place. Miss Colby is in charge of publicity and her office has prepared for magazines, newspapers and farm journals a great deal of material setting forth urgent school needs.

Special emphasis is being given to the need for real Americanization work as enunciated in the St Paul declarations. The need of tenure provisions for teachers, the need of pensions systems, higher professional standards and better conditions generally, is being stressed, and in most cases the papers are accepting the material. Returns from the first story sent out were coming in a month later. Papers in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Minnesota, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Maine, Connecticut and District of Columbia carried the story.

The publicity fund is growing rapidly. Most locals as well as individuals are enthusiastic about the need for publicity concerning educational questions, and the activities of the A F of T. A list of contributors will be published later. So that they may keep in touch with the work, all who contribute are to receive the bulletin of the A F of T issued by the office of the Secretary-Treasurer. At the time of going to press, paid in contributions amounted to \$1010.00.

#### A READING LIST

The attention of readers of the AMERICAN TEACHER is called to the following articles which have appeared in the 1921 magazines:

In the February Century, a most helpful and thought-provoking attack upon the teachers' union movement.

In the Survey for February 12, a study of the activities of Better America Federation in propagandizing the public schools.

In the Survey for February 26, a study of Americanism and its relation to academic freedom.

In the Nation for February 23, an editorial on the Americanization program of the A F T.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Conducted by Alice L. Wood, Local 8,  
Washington, D. C.

"The Church and Industrial Reconstruction." The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York. \$2.00.

This is the third of a series of reports by the above committee, an inter-denominational group appointed "to consider the state of religion as revealed or affected by the war, with special reference to the duty and opportunity of the churches."

It is an extremely thoro and searching study, frank and honest in its conclusions. The first chapter, *The Christian Ideal for Society*, recognizes the conflicting opinions of various groups of Christians, but enunciates as fundamental, five principles which may be accepted as standards by which our social life may be judged. These are the supreme *worth of personality* in the sight of God, the *brotherhood of all men as children of one Father*, the *obligation of service to one's fellows*, the *law of love as the ruling motive of life*, and the *duty of faith in God and in humanity*. An elaboration of each one of these fundamental principles follows. This discussion serves as a basis for the rest of the inquiry. One by one these principles are taken up and the present industrial system is examined and tested by them. Then follows the question by what means shall Christianity secure social betterment, what obligations rest upon the individual Christian, and upon the Church as an organization.

It is hardly necessary to inform any student of the present industrial system that it fails to stand the tests imposed by the mere statement of the above named principles. For instance, the present system is inconsistent with the sacredness of personality:

1. In the social attitude toward labor—i.e., in an impersonal view of labor as a commodity—of the "labor market," etc., a view which still very largely prevails.
2. In *result* of the present system, regardless of our attitude.

Personality is dwarfed by various factors:

1. Lack of continuous opportunity to work.
2. Inadequate income.

3. Inadequate leisure.

4. Dwarfing the personalities of the future thru (a) child labor, (b) failure to protect women workers.

The chapter on Present Practical Steps Toward a More Christian Industrial Order discusses the topics:

- I. Measures Designed to Develop and Protect Personality.
  - (a) Providing security against unemployment.
  - (b) Providing income for all, sufficient for self-realization.
  - (c) Providing leisure for all, sufficient for self-realization.
  - (d) Protecting the Personalities of the future:
    1. Safeguarding children from exploitation.
    2. Safeguarding women in industry.
- II. Securing a Democratic Organization of Industry More Consistent with Brotherhood.
- III. Securing a Distribution of Profit More Consistent with the Idea of Service.

The Chapter on What Individual Christians Can Do to Christianize the Industrial Order discusses Christians as Employers, as Investors, as Employes, as Consumers, and as Citizens.

These chapters may give an idea of the scope of the work, which impresses me as having been most painstaking and exhaustive.

An appendix gives a very useful Selected Bibliography on the Church and Social Reconstruction.

One great value of this book seems to be its appeal with its array of facts and clear unescapable conclusions, to an audience not reached by the various organs concerned directly with industrial problems.

The Letters of William James (II Volumes). The Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston. \$10.00.

The two volumes of these letters, some of which have appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*, are of surpassing interest and charm. The light thrown on William James, surely one of the most delightful of philosophers (we find he objected



to the title of psychologist) adds to our appreciation of the breadth of his interests and the sweetness of his nature. In addition, just as we saw William James in Henry James' *A Small Boy and Others*, so here we get a very pleasing light on Henry thru William James' letters and comments.

Among the many things that might be selected for mention, I think that the criticism William gives Henry James' "third manner," and his letters to Henry Adams' in answer to Adams' lectures to teachers of history (The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma) are perhaps most timely. I cannot resist quoting the first:

"You know how opposed your whole 'third manner' of execution is to the literary ideals which animate my crude and Orson-like breast; mine being to say a thing in one sentence as straight and explicit as it can be made, and then to drop it forever: yours being to avoid naming its straight, but by dint of breathing and sighing all round and round it, to arouse in the reader who may have had a similar perception already (Heaven help him if he hadn't!) the illusion of a solid object, made (like the 'Ghost at the Polytechnic') wholly out of impalpable materials, air, and the prismatic interferences of light, ingeniously focused by mirrors upon empty space. But you *do* it, that's the queerness! And the complication of innuendo and associative reference on the enormous scale to which you give way to it does so *build out* the matter for the reader that the result is to solidify, by the mere bulk of the process, the like perception from which *he* has to start. As air, by dint of its volume, will weigh like a corporal body, so his own poor little initial perception, swathed in this gigantic envelopment of suggestive atmosphere, grows like a germ into something vastly bigger and more substantial. . . . For gleams and innuendoes and felicitous verbal insinuations you are unapproachable, but the *core* of literature is solid. Give it to us *once* again! The rare perfume of things will not support existence, and the effect of solidity you reach is but perfume and simulacrum."

There are fascinating letters to Bergson, to H G Wells, to Charles Eliot Norton, O W Holmes Jr, Henry L Higginson, George Santayana, W D Howells, Josiah Royce and numerous other famous men and women, beside the ones to his brother and his family.

This book and the *Life and Letters of John Fiske*, with Henry Adams' *Education*, give us a valuable picture of Harvard University life as well as the lives of three supremely interesting men.

---



---

***This is the Official Organ***  
of the

**American Federation  
of Teachers**

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

Executive Council of the American Federation  
of Teachers

*President*, CHARLES B STILLMAN, Chicago, No 2  
1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill

*Secretary-Treasurer*, F G STECKER, Chicago, No 2  
State Bank Building, Wilmette, Ill

*Field Secretary, Vice-President*  
JOSEPHINE COLBY, Fresno, No 72  
1024 Garrick Building, Chicago, Ill

*Editor, The American Teacher, Vice-President*  
HENRY R LINVILLE, New York City, No 5  
70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N Y

*Vice-Presidents*

E B CARLILE, Gary, No 4  
1325 Ellsworth Street, Gary, Ind

HERMAN DEFREM, New York City, No 71  
2875 Broadway, New York, N Y

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ, New York City, No 5  
Grand Avenue, East Elmhurst, N Y

W T MCCOY, Chicago, No 2  
5508 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill

S G McLEAN, Sacramento, No 31  
4163 Piedmont Avenue, Oakland, Calif

MARY A O'CONNOR, Buffalo, No 182  
711 Elk Street, Buffalo, N Y

C E PHILLIPS, Atlanta, No 89  
94 Brookline Street, Atlanta, Ga

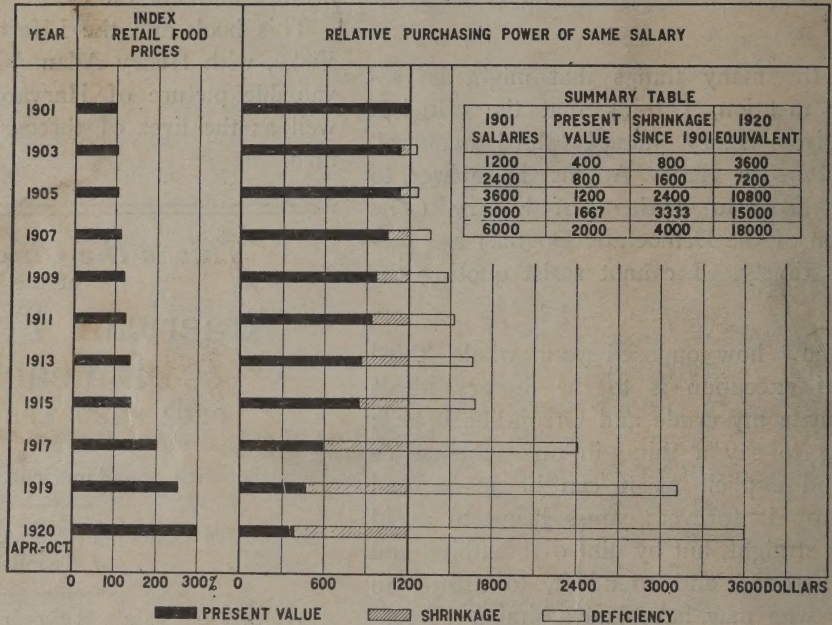
JENNIE A WILCOX, Chicago, No 3  
212 North Grove Avenue, Oak Park, Ill

ISABEL WILLIAMS, St Paul Women, No 28  
554 Holly Avenue, St Paul, Minn

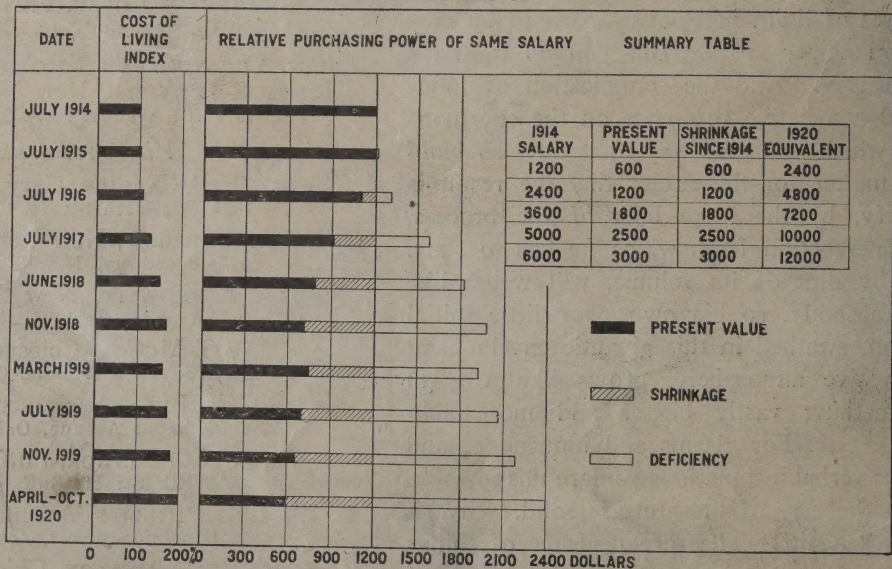


# Salaries and the Cost of Living

## PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1901-1920



## PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1914-20 PREPARED FROM NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD DATA



From figures furnished by the Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.